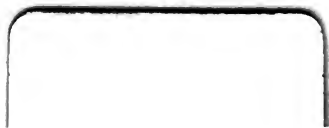


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THE
HISTORY OF GIBRALTAR
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF ITS
OCCUPATION BY THE SARACENS

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COMPRISING
DETAILS OF THE NUMEROUS CONFLICTS FOR ITS POSSESSION
BETWEEN THE MOORS AND THE CHRISTIANS, UNTIL ITS
FINAL SURRENDER IN 1462; AND OF SUBSEQUENT EVENTS: WITH
AN APPENDIX CONTAINING INTERESTING DOCUMENTS.



TRANSLATED FROM

The Spanish of Don IGNACIO LOPEZ DE AYALA

WITH A CONTINUATION TO MODERN TIMES

BY JAMES BELL ESQ.



LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1845

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DEDICATION.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD STANLEY,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
ETC. ETC.

MY LORD,

FULLY aware of the advantage which any publication relating to a British Colony must derive from the sanction of your Lordship's Name, I feel much gratified by the permission to dedicate to your Lordship the present Translation of the "HISTORIA DE GIBRALTAR," written by DON IGNACIO LOPEZ DE AYALA, a work containing much curious matter of general interest, and tracing, from the earliest period, the

History of a Place, now become one of the most important possessions of the British Crown.

With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant,

JAMES BELL.

August, 1845.





ADVERTISEMENT.



QF the Foreign Possessions belonging to Great Britain, Gibraltar is undoubtedly one of the most important; whether viewed Geographically, as affording shelter to British Shipping navigating the Mediterranean; or Politically, as giving an opportunity closely to watch the movements of other nations, either in the South of Europe, or on the North Coast of Africa.

Nevertheless, few places are less known to Englishmen than Gibraltar; whence of its character and appearance the most incorrect notions are formed.

The *Rock of Gibraltar* is the appellation given to that important Fortress (now deemed a Colony), and heat, barrenness, and insalubrity are the qualities most generally ascribed to it.

The few, however, who have visited this Rock will render ample justice to the beauty of its situation ; its delightful and healthy climate ; its Roads, Gardens, and Plantations ; to its Alameda and Public Walks, and to the natural and artificial curiosities every where to be seen. By modern tourists these indeed have been mentioned, rather than described ; but of its earlier history, of the vicissitudes which, from its first occupation, it has undergone, and of its numerous Masters, little was distinctly known until the appearance of the work of DON IGNACIO LOPEZ DE AYALA, published sixty year ago, of which the following pages contain a Translation. The attainments of Ayala, coupled with his patient and diligent research, well fitted him to become the historian of a

Place interesting to Europe generally, but more especially and in the highest degree to his own country. His History terminates at the moment the memorable siege of 1780 was about to be commenced ; and foreseeing probably its failure, a work of this sort, somewhat diminishing the value of the possession being in foreign hands, seemed necessary to prepare the nation for a final surrender: and this took place at the Peace of 1783, when Gibraltar, by the confirmation of its cession to Great Britain, was finally severed from the Spanish Crown, never to be again subjected to its dominion.

It may be feared, however, that this surrender will be ever remembered at Madrid with regret, and that it has prevented that perfectly cordial and friendly intercourse between Great Britain and Spain that otherwise would have existed. Our possessing it is viewed with jealousy rather indeed from Commercial than Political feeling: and the mischief lies in the narrow commercial policy

of the Spanish Government, and the want of integrity in too many of its public officers. Under a more liberal and enlightened system the mere territorial possession would be little thought of; and, while beneficial to Great Britain, it would be innocuous, at least, to Spain; and would by no means interfere with the harmony and good understanding that ought to subsist between two great and powerful nations.

Ayala's History is full of interesting matter relating to this curious Rock, detailed with greater minuteness and accuracy than could have been expected from a writer having but little personal knowledge of what he describes.

Of this History a literal but faithful translation is now intended to be given: but as the original work comprises details, somewhat elaborate, of the fabulous accounts relating to Gibraltar, together with minute descriptions of unimportant events during the contests for its possession between the African and

Spanish Moors, and between these and the Christians ; also of trivial occurrences during the many Sieges to which it had been subjected before its final surrender to the Spanish Monarchs by the Duke of Medina Sidonia ; the Translator has deemed it advisable to abridge the Original, by omitting those parts, the perusal of which would be alike tedious and uninteresting to the modern reader.

He presumes that in the present day such abridgement will be fully as acceptable as the entire original : a close adherence to the Text has been attempted, and it is hoped accomplished as far as is permitted by the difference between the idioms of the two languages, although the Translator is aware that by so doing his performance will in some parts appear dry and insipid.

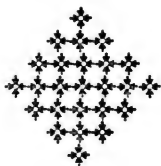
For the ancient Plans accompanying it, he has to express his thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum ; every facility having been afforded him for making the necessary

drawings from the original existing in that valuable depository ; whereby the Reader will be enabled more fully to comprehend the description of the Rock as given by Ayala.

Relying on the indulgence of an enlightened Public, he flatters himself with a favourable reception of his labours, in endeavouring to bring to notice a work but little known, but deserving much attention as relating to one of the most important foreign possessions of Great Britain.

J. B.

Gibraltar, 1845.





PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

IF, instead of the loud note of war-like preparation now heard in the Straits, and claiming the attention of all nations, Europe were reposing in perfect peace ; yet would the numerous disembarcations, the violent incursions, and sanguinary contests which at all times Gibraltar and its Bay have either caused or witnessed, occupy an important place in history. Passing over the narration of the arrival on its shores of all the fabulous heroes of antiquity, we know that through this channel there came into Spain the implacable scourge of the Mahometans, exterminating the empire of the Goths, and oppressing during 800 years a great part of the Spanish dominions.—Here found a footing the first Arabian conqueror, Tarik Ben Saide, who gave his name to the Rock ; and here also first landed enterprising Colonists from Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Africa ; who, discontented, abandoned their own countries to enjoy the delightful climate, the abundance, and the riches of their recently acquired conquests. How many

armies passed the Straits and over this Rock, endeavouring to extinguish the remnant of those valorous Spaniards, who fought for their religion, their Kings, their own liberty, and that of their wives and children ! The Chiefs of the Almorbides, Almohades, and Benimerines, after having subjugated Africa, spread themselves in turn over the Straits for the destruction of Spain, like impetuous torrents ; and on many occasions were the waves tinged with the blood of enraged combatants who blindly fought either to reach the Peninsula or to defend themselves when arrived there. Even from the walls of Gibraltar were witnessed sanguinary battles both by sea and land ; and from thence were heard the destructive blows at the battle of Salado, where fell the proud Abul-Hacem, who, trusting in his 600,000 Arabs, had sworn to annihilate, through the whole of Spain, the Holy name of Christ.—Vain boaster ! forgetting the celebrated *Navas de Tolosa*, and unmindful of having opposed to him Alonso the XIth, that incomparable monarch, who, fully aware of the imminent danger to which his dominions were exposed as long as this key to them remained in the power of the infidels, twice besieged Gibraltar, and died gloriously under its walls. The brave Abdul Malik, son of Abul-Hacem, styled himself King of Gibraltar ; and its loss and recovery on various occasions, caused by the dissensions between the Alhamares of Granada and the Benimerines of Africa, held in suspense the fate of

both Empires. The frequent blockades, the sieges, the bombardments, and subsequent conquests; its loss in the year 1704; the sad dispersion of its inhabitants; the pertinacity with which the English retain it; the just anxiety of the Spaniards for its recovery; their repeated attempts: these, together with the discussions and protests in Congresses and Parliaments, all render Gibraltar as celebrated as any of the strongest or most important places either in Italy or Flanders. Such frequent and extraordinary occurrences deserve a history equal to any of those relating to many other parts of Spain; and more especially at the present moment when his Catholic Majesty, earnestly desiring to recover this key and bulwark of his empire, prepares for its conquest almost incredible means both by sea and land.

My readers may not possibly be satisfied with this production, published to make known the lofty idea at all times entertained regarding Gibraltar, as well as the extraordinary events that have given it a celebrity greater than that of any other part of Spain. Induced to compose it as well by my own inclination as at the instigation of friends, I have spared no labour in searching for sure and important information, availing myself as well of that which our chronicles afford as of a *Manuscript History of Gibraltar*, preserved in the Archives at Algeciras, composed at the commencement of the last Century by Alonzo Her-

nandez del Portillo, a magistrate of that City, and a diligent, well-informed person of great credit.

The manuscript histories of the *House of Niebla*, of Pedro Barrantes Maldonado, and of the Maestre Pedro de Medina; the valuable Arabic-Hispana Library of Don Miguel Casiri; the journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, by Mr. Carter; the original information furnished by my friend Don Mauricio Echandi, physician to the Army about to besiege Gibraltar, and given to me by Don Gregorio Guerra, Vicar of San Roque; together with the information I have gathered from a manuscript folio written in Gibraltar after its loss by the Curate of the Church, Don Juan Romero de Figueroa, are the principal documents of which I have availed myself, and serve as my authorities for the more important narrations. I am yet more indebted to His Excellency the Duke of Alva, heir to the house of Medina Sidonia, to which Gibraltar at one time belonged, for the royal privileges, letters patent, and documents freely furnished me from his abundant and very choice Archives; as well as for those of which I have been permitted to avail myself from the Archives of His Excellency the Marquess of Santa Cruz.

This is not the occasion to express myself angrily towards the dependants of other persons who, being themselves deficient in knowledge, have not thought proper to occupy their time in exhibiting documents which perhaps might afford irrefragable proofs, as well of the ignoble deeds as

of the privileges enjoyed by the houses they now serve. The Letters Patent most deserving attention that I have found, will form an Appendix ; to which I have added many other interesting authentic documents, which, although yet inedited, ought to have a place in this History, to which indeed they belong, and which in fact contain the fundamental arguments adduced by the English for retaining and by the Spaniards for recovering the Rock of Gibraltar.

From such excellent materials, aided by information received from natives of the place, and personal observation of the Rock and its vicinity, a more perfect History might be expected ; but the time for composing it is much shorter than that employed in collecting the materials, and great delay would be requisite in arranging them with the care, the reflection, the propriety, style, and elegance that History requires. The actual state of things, the troops, the threatening armaments against the place, as also the preparations making by the garrison to meet their enemies, claim now, more than at any former period, the attention of the curious and the regard of all Europe.

Intelligent Readers may perhaps find compensation for defects in the recital of the numerous events, some hitherto unknown, now brought together in this History ; in which it appeared indispensable to give a complete description of the Rock, of the Town, and even of the Straits, with

some notice of the ancient Cities on their shores, and of their appearance in modern times. In the First Book these will be treated of; as pleasing and acceptable, without doubt, to the lovers of Natural History and Antiquities, as will be easy the omission of its perusal to those who delight solely in the recital of more stirring events, and view with indifference the researches of the Naturalists and the remains of the grandeur of Antiquity.

The Second Book, with which, in fact, commences the History of Gibraltar, notices its origin, the incursions and movements of the African Moors, its captures and recaptures, the numerous sovereigns that have possessed it, with many particulars of its rights of asylum, and the privileges granted to it by the Castilian Kings; the narration comprising the period from the first arrival of the Moors until the year 1540.

From this time is conducted, in the Third Book, the History until our day; and I cannot doubt that its many important epochs will claim the attention of the curious, whose indulgence will, I hope, be extended to any errors that may have been inadvertently committed by the Author.

Madrid, 1782.



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History of Gibraltar.

CHAPTER I.



GIBRALTAR is the name given not only to the Rock at the Southern extremity of the kingdom of Spain, and to the Town situated on its Western declivity, but also to the Straits that divide Europe from Africa. The Rock or Mountain, of which we shall first speak, has no communication with any other; it is an extraordinary elevation, entirely separated, and rising from the sea; in length from North to South three quarters of a league, or 5130 varas of Burgos. Its greatest width is 1500 varas, and perpendicular height in the highest part 510; while the distance from the Beach on the Western side to the Rock Gun, or highest part looking to the North, is considered to be fully half a league. Its circumference is two leagues of 6640 varas

each; all which may be accomplished by water, with the exception of a narrow Isthmus, which, uniting the Continent of Spain, makes it become a Peninsula.

Situated at the most Southern extremity of this region, and indeed of all Europe, this Rock forms the Eastern entrance to the Straits, equally celebrated and dangerous to Mariners. It lies in $36^{\circ} 5'$ North Lat. and $5^{\circ} 17'$ West Long. from Greenwich; is distant in a direct line bearing S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. from Cadiz fifteen leagues and a half, while the road, leading from one place to the other, comprises nineteen; it is five and a half leagues North from Ceuta; about nine North-East from Tangier: sixteen and a half S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. from Malaga, and one league and a half East from Algeciras.

2. These are the boundaries and distances of the Rock; but those of the territory and neighbourhood belonging to the *City of Gibraltar* were widely extended, running five leagues from East to West, three from North to South, and comprising a circuit of twenty-nine leagues; including many mountains and plains, for the most part rocky, uneven, and rude: they extended Eastward as far as the river Guadiano, which also formed, on that side, the boundary of the kingdom of Seville. To the Westward they adjoined those of *Tarifa*, *Medina Sidonia*, and *Alcalá de los Gazules*; to the North they met

those of the Town of *Castellar* and *Ximena*; and again Southward those of *Tarifa* and the Straits. In them were included the boundaries of *Algeciras*; for being depopulated when *Gibraltar* was conquered in 1462, Henry IV. and the subsequent Catholic Kings annexed that place and its Dependencies to this City.

Although the country within these limits is generally mountainous, it contains a great variety of soil, yielding fruits and many of the necessities of life. It has extensive Meadows, affording excellent pasture for every species of cattle. These have always formed one of the principal sources of the wealth of this country, together with the Vineyards, which formerly existed in great abundance, although in the present day but few remain. The population of *San Roque*, *Algeciras*, and *Les Barrios*, with their Territories and Boundaries united, formed the entire *City of Gibraltar*.

3. Many were the names given to this Mountain by the antients; and the fabulous Greeks seem to have selected this neighbourhood as the scene best adapted to their fictions. We content ourselves, however, with that of *Gibraltar*, which it has subsequently acquired; for it brings to mind the great and extraordinary events that have occurred, not only with respect to it, but as relating to the whole kingdom of Spain.

Gibraltar is an Arabic name, first given to it

when the followers of Mahomet entered Spain at the beginning of the eighth century. As the word has various significations, all corresponding in some degree to the situation and the event, it would not be easy to determine the sense in which it should be applied, were it not well established by the Arabian writers. The learned agree that Gibraltar is composed of two Arabic words; the first, *Gibel*, which all admit signifies Mountain, while the latter involves many different significations; nevertheless each may be adapted to Calpe through some of its qualities, or from events happening within its limits. Tar or Tur has also a signification relating to Height, Tower, or some elevated object, a quality which well accords with this Eminence; and the true etymology is perhaps that which gives the name of Gibraltar from the combination of these words, whence Mount Tarik, for so it is called by Ben Hazil, a celebrated Moorish writer of Granada. But whatever name it may bear, derived from the events of early times, they all unhappily bring to mind insults, inroads of conquerors, and disastrous occurrences.

Gibraltar, by its formation, when seen from a distance, has the appearance of a column; and as at the North end it is almost perpendicular, with a large space of low flat land extending from the bottom, it presents an appearance to navigators approaching from the Eastward of a per-

fect Island. Its greatest height is at this North end,* and here is what is termed the “*Salto del Lobo*” (Wolf’s Leap).

Following the Summit, which has a little inclination Southward, the high point called the Hacho† is reached, where the Spaniards erected, and the English have preserved, a Signal Station, to give notice of the approach of vessels from either side. Continuing Southward is the Quebrada (Break or Indenture), which seems to divide the Rock, the Southern part called Europa being overlooked from this point.

Hernandez del Portillo‡ observes as an extraordinary quality of this Rock, that although its side is sloping and much extended, the water often does not reach the Town, although it should rain long and with great violence. In 1766, however, the rain fell in such abundance as to inundate the Town; but this was deemed an extraordinary occurrence. It appears that the Mountain is full of Caverns, into which the water runs, and is conducted by unknown channels to

* The greatest height is at a point between the Signal House and O’Hara’s Tower.—*Tr.*

† Hacho means a faggot or faggots of wood covered with pitch, by means of which signals were made during the night time.—*Tr.*

‡ Alonzo Hernandez del Portillo composed his History of Gibraltar at the beginning of the seventeenth century.—*Tr.*

the surrounding sea, or to interior deposits not reaching the Town, nor even the Gardens at the foot of the Mountain.

4. Besides San Michael's Cave, probably so called, says Portillo, from the similarity of its appearance to that in the mountain *Gargano del Apulla*, where St. Michael is said to have appeared, there are many others, some of which were known to the Spaniards, and others have been discovered by the English. One was called the Treasure Cave, for in it, as was said, treasure had been found. Besides the Cave discovered on one side of the Rock at the Land Port, and which penetrates many yards towards the centre, others have been found when scarping in places that appeared inaccessible; for the English have not failed to add artificial Fortifications to the natural strength of the place. While scarping below the Parapet, a hollow place was discovered, remarkable for its distance when penetrated. Another was found when forming the new road to the Signal House, having abundance of water; finally it appears to have been deepened, and converted into a well for the service of the works, and the use of the upper guards.

5. The most celebrated, however, is the above named San Michael's Cave, called St. George's by the English; the entrance to which is 437 varas above the level of the sea. From the entrance (where ivy grows as far as the outward

air penetrates) it becomes wider, declining gradually; the small shingle, the humidity, and the mud that obstruct the way, have caused much interruption to the examination of this cavern; nevertheless, persons, by the aid of ropes, have descended several hundred feet. The entrance is narrow, but farther inward is found sufficient room for many to walk abreast.

6. Persons of reputation, and ardent admirers of the wonders of nature, assert that the roof is at least seventy feet high, the whole forming a dome or beautiful arch. In the centre are seen festoons and trellis work that obstruct the passage. The air, which circulates freely, together with the rays of the sun, which penetrate, have formed curious figures and fretwork; while the water, percolating through the roof, the situation of the place, the atmosphere, and contiguity to the sea, all contribute to produce stalactites of curious and interesting formation. The natural columns, their bases and capitals, in no way formed according to the rules of human architecture, all interpose to prevent penetrating very far into the Cave. About a hundred paces from the entrance is seen a beautiful saloon nearly sixty five yards square, the height of the roof being twenty one. On the right of this saloon is an opening or second Cave, whose length extends nearly fifty feet, with proportionate width.

In it are seen beautiful stalactites, regularly

formed into gothic arches, having altogether the appearance of a splendid temple. It is very probable that in past ages the possessors of Gibraltar, as well Spaniards as Mahometans, used this Cave as a convenient reservoir for water, which they afterwards purified and drank.

It is known that they availed themselves of this deposit, not allowing the rain water to run to the sea, for near the entrance may be seen vestiges of a dwarf wall twenty feet long, which, without doubt, served as a dyke to retain the water. This Cave is most unquestionably described by Pomponius Mela, a Geographer of the Augustan Age ; although Commentators and Grammarians, striving to elucidate, have made him almost incomprehensible. According to them, that which Mela calls a Cave is not a Cave, the hollow in the mountain is not a hollow, but a slope, and the passable space within becomes the exterior ground looking to the sea. But we have only to examine the description given by Mela to be assured that it relates to San Michael's (now St. George's) Cave. In his "*De Situ Orbis, Cap. vi. lib. 2,*" he says : "*This Mountain, (Calpe) with wonderful Concavities, has its Western side almost opened by a large Cave, which may be penetrated far into the interior.*"

And to what other part of the Rock does this description so well apply as to the Cave above mentioned.

7. Although this is the largest, the Mountain abounds in cavities some larger than others, serving for receptacles and deposits of rain water, affording great relief to the inhabitants and the garrison, whom it would otherwise be difficult to supply with water when but little rain falls, or can be collected in the reservoirs.

8. Notwithstanding the Rock is almost surrounded by the Sea, its rain-water is good, light, and excellent for drinking. It preserves itself sweet for a great length of time, and being kept in Tanks, it is thence conducted to the town.

The Aqueduct, believed to be the work of the Moors, would in these days be of great utility. It entered formerly at the South end of the City, and supplied the Castle and Arsenal; but this is now in ruins, the remains only being in some parts visible.*

9. The Heights that overhang Europa Point, looking directly South, are described in Mr. Carter's work as of very difficult access, and that on them, even in Summer, is the air so cold and penetrating, that those are obliged to seek shelter whose curiosity has led them to ascend over a

* Long after the decay of this Aqueduct, and before Gibraltar came into our possession, another, very curiously constructed, was formed by the Spaniards; this has been well maintained, and supplies much water to the inhabitants, at the Fountain, in the centre of the Town.—*Tr.*

most uncomfortable road. The surface is entirely barren, there being neither grass nor shrub ; and the ground, covered with sharp loose stones, is most inconvenient, and has a disagreeable aspect. With great labour and some danger, the summit of the Rock may be reached by rough uneven and almost perpendicular paths.† The highest point appears to touch the skies,‡ and on its sides are multitudes of sharp Craggs, presenting horrible appearances, and threatening with imminent danger those who may have the temerity to approach them. The gusts of wind that strike against the Rock and penetrate the Cavities, whence they are driven forth with equal or greater violence, cause such rapid and violent undulations as to create fearful sounds ; and persons of veracity, who have been there, declare that the roaring of cannon in a combat causes less noise than that proceeding from these Cavities.

10. But if the Ears are there incommoded, the Eyes are gratified by the most delightful objects and the most noble view that imagination can picture to itself. Two seas, the Straits, so celebrated and famed in antiquity, Africa, yet unknown

† In later times, all these difficulties and obstacles have been removed, very tolerable roads have been formed, and the highest points may now be gained without danger and with little difficulty.

‡ The greatest height of the Rock is 1405 feet.—*Tr.*

to us, variegated by many inhabited spots; the elevated Atlas whose head appears to sustain the skies, while seen as if at our feet; fill the mind with admiration, and communicate to it a tranquil and mysterious enthusiasm.

11. Five kingdoms may be seen stretching from the shores of one sea to those of another: In Europe are those of Seville and Granada, and in Africa, Morocco, Fez, and Barbary. From hence may be observed the breadth of those Straits between Spain and Africa, that unite the two Seas, washing to the Southward the Mauritanian Shore. At the point of *Almina* on the African shore, corresponding to Europa Point on ours, terminate the waters of the Mediterranean.

Next to it lies *Mons Abyla*,* a subordinate companion to Calpe; on its Eastern side is Ceuta, called by Ptolemy *Exelissa*, celebrated by Arabian poets as a glorious and lamentable theatre of victories, routs, aggrandizements, and ruins. Then follow Seven peaks of Mountains, called by the Romans and Grecians Seven Brothers (*siete hermanos*), whence came the word *Septa*, afterwards Ceuta. Halfway between this place and the City of Tangier, and almost in front of Tarifa, is *Alcazar el Laquer*, a small town erected by Jacob Almanzor, Emperor of the Almohades,

* The Height of Abyla (Apis Hill) is very considerably greater than that of Gibraltar.—*Tr.*

who, availing himself of its convenient little Port, encouraged the increase of dwellings, that from it every year he might embark numerous armies, to disturb the Christians and even the Moors in Spain.

The River, called Balone by Ptolemy, disembogues itself in this neighbourhood ; and here are the *Cuchillos de Siris* (Heights of Siris) which form with Tarifa the narrowest part of the Straits. Tangier is next, formerly called Tingi, the oldest among the ancient towns of Africa, and founded, it is believed, by Hercules. It was a Roman Colony, under the name of *Julia Traducta Tingi*, and has been possessed by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, and by the Mahometans, who called it, on account of its opulence, the Second Mecca ; also by the Portuguese and by the English. It has been destroyed and abandoned at various times, and finally rebuilt by the present Emperor of Morocco. The Town is not distinguishable from these Heights above Europa Point,* being built at the bottom of the Bay, but the Bay may be distinctly seen. From thence we proceed along the Coast, till reaching Cape Espartel, the end of the Straits and beginning of the wide ocean, which washes the unknown shores of that part of Africa.

* This is not quite correct, for the Town is visible on a clear day.—*Tr.*

12. On the Spanish side, the objects that present themselves are not so numerous, for elevated mountains interpose, extending down to the Straits.

13. The high tops of the barren *Cuervo* may be seen, also the heights of *Ojen* and *Samóna*, and on approaching the Coast, appears the new Town of *Algeciras*, whence we proceed to the bottom of the Bay of Gibraltar. There come in sight the sad ruins of *Carteia*, monuments of the effect of Time, and the vicissitudes of Fortune. Oh! what does not yield to the slow workings of numerous years; and what may not be found buried in the depth of the Ocean! The noise of hostile cannon now frequently resounds in the Bay, unheard in the once celebrated *Casteia*,—the first Colony held by the Romans in Spain, receptacle of the Fleets of the Carthaginians and Phœnicians—the Court of Argantonio, and frequented Emporium of all commercial nations!! Buried now in silence and in ruins art thou, while the old Watch-Tower of *Carthagera* alone tells where once thou stood.

13. *San Roque* is situated at a short distance, on a Hill, not far from the mountains stretching to the Northward and Westward, that overlook it. Thence proceeding Eastward, appear in majestic grandeur the high mountains of the *Sierra de Ronda*, towering above the rest; and here are found delicious fruits in abundance; the cool

temperature of the climate and the purity of the air rendering this place highly salubrious. To the Eastward of *Ronda*, near to *Munda*, is the spot where the sons of Pompey disputed with Cæsar for universal empire ; while from the shores of Malaga, from hence discernible, the *Conde de Tolosa*, natural son of Louis XIV., beat the combined squadron of England and Holland ; driving them from the Mediterranean, where each strove to maintain the superiority.

14. Equally discernible is the little Tower of *Estepona* ; as also in a clear day the strong walls of the Castle of *Marbella*, whose neighbourhood is famed for its wines. On this side the view is bounded by the rocky mountains of the *Alpujarras* and the *Sierra Nevada*, that overtops them. On the summit of this is perpetual snow, while from its sides run crystal streams, giving rise to the Genil and Darro, rivers that fertilize the most delicious and beautiful plain anywhere to be seen in the known world.

15. Turning our eyes again to the Rock, we see at its base a narrow neck of land to the Northward, uniting it to Spain ; and here, although it is covered entirely with sand, are cultivated gardens at the distance of 1500 paces from the Garrison. In times long passed, there extended from hence a large tract of Vineyards more than a league square, but of which in the present day not a vestige remains.

16. The Levant winds that prevail, and generally blow with violence, cause much sand to be thrown up on the Mediterranean side of the Isthmus; so that the portion of it to the Eastward is for the most part higher than that on the West, although the sands are continually shifting. From the Western beach, across to the shores of the Mediterranean, are the lines of the Spanish encampments, terminated on the East by the strong fort of *Santa Barbara*, and on the West by that of *Fort San Felipe*.* Beyond these lines, and about a mile distant, on the Mediterranean coast, is the fortification of *La Tunára*, and between the lines and the garrison are several Lagunas worthy of notice; more especially that nearest to the Rock, adjoining the Landport. The English have enlarged it, and it is possible that in the course of time they may destroy altogether the Isthmus.

17. To complete the circuit of the Rock, we shall describe the space between the South Port, at the extremity of the town, and Europa Point, about two miles distant. One to the New Mole, and another to Point *Leon*, or Europa Point. In the time of Portillo a ditch was commenced in the front of the new wall at South Port, in which was a pond noted for its noisy frogs, and a well of

* Both these forts and the whole of the lines were blown up and destroyed by the English, in the year 1810, with the concurrence of General Castaños, who then commanded at Algeciras.—*Tr.*

sweet water, called *La Tarosca*. A few paces farther on was another well of good and excellent water, which was drunk throughout the city. Here begin the Red Sands, stretching from the foot of the mountain as far as the sea, extending Southward in length 875 paces, and terminating at some gardens and plantations of trees. These sands being free from saline matter, are most useful in making mortar for the buildings in the town, but very inconvenient for those who have to pass over them.

18. In the midst of them ran an aqueduct in 1571, carrying water to the city, but which lasted only a few years. At the termination of the Sands, existed plantations of trees of delicious fruits of many varieties, and much esteemed by strangers and naturalists. The plantations were secured by fences of the Prickly Pear or Indian Fig, which in the Red Sands is cultivated, and grows extensively.*

19. In the midst of these plantations existed a Church or Chapel, called *San Juan el Verde* (St. John the Green), under the protection of the Knights of St. John of Malta; the appellation *Green*, it is supposed, being derived from the colour of the

* Of these Red Sands the Northern part has been long converted into a parade; of the remainder was formed, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Don, delightful walks and gardens, for the amusement and recreation of the public.—*Tr.*

glazed tiles, with which the roof of the building was covered : and here was the image of our Lady of Consolation, by which name the Chapel was very generally known. Near to this was erected a Calvary, with many stations, resting-places, and crosses, in memory of those over which our Saviour passed for the salvation of mankind. It owed its construction to the piety and charity of Admiral Roque Centeno, who was of the Armada in the Straits in 1623, commanded by Don Francisco Faxardo. A little beyond was built the chapel of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (our Lady of Refuge), where was a celebrated Image much visited, and held in great veneration by the city.

20. There remains to be noticed the most ancient and pious establishment of La Virgen de Europa (our Lady of Europa) at the extremity of Europa Point, “in which,” says Portillo, “the Saviour, through the intercession of his beloved Mother, has performed numerous miracles, many of which we have witnessed with our own eyes. The Chapel and Image of the Virgin are held in great veneration throughout the city: the inhabitants have decorated them with many splendid gifts, and the commanders of the galleys have presented large lamps of silver, providing at the same time for a continued supply of oil, that a light may be invariably kept before the Holy

Image.* Prince John Andrea Doria gave one in the year 1568 ; having in that year taken five Turkish galleys in the Straits ; and another was bestowed through the devotion of Fabricio Colona, commander of the Sicilian galleys, and who died in this city in the year 1580. Don Martin de Padilla, Count of Santa Gadéa, chief Governor of Castille, and commander of the Spanish galleys, gave another lamp ; as did also Don Pedro de Toledo, Duke of Fernandina, and Marquess of Villa Franca. Nor would it be just to omit placing among these nobles an inhabitant of the city, named Francisco de Molina, who gave another silver lamp ; for it is fit that the names and actions of good men should for ever live in the memory of mankind. Don Baltazar Benitez Rendon, a gentleman of the city, gave also a most handsome silver lamp ; and another was given by Fernando de Biedma, who made a large fortune in India, which he brought to Gibraltar, his birth-place, and where he died a great devotee of this holy Saint.”

21. This Chapel or Hermitage appears to have been the work of the Moors, for its arabesque arches still remain. By degrees the Church was greatly increased in size, and became double its

* This light was of great service to mariners, serving as a light-house, and contiguous to this spot it is that the present one has been erected.—*Tr.*

former dimensions. Within was a large tower, since renovated and modernised, where the Mahometan Imaun ascended to call the Faithful to prayers, exclaiming, "there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." This holy building enjoyed many jubilees and indulgencies, with numerous especial privileges; and there were preserved in great veneration many valuable relics of renowned Saints, until the year 1704, when the whole was sacked and profaned by the English.

22. On the high part of the Rock, and towards the South, was a large space called the *Tarfes*,* a Moorish term derived from the name of Tarick, the great captain who first came from Barbary and caused the loss to Spain of Gibraltar; and in this situation was a very antient tower, called the Genoese Tower; although it is not known why it was so named. Like a similar one situated beyond the town, in the *Sierra de la Carbonera*, it was probably used by the Carthaginians, or the Romans, when possessing Carteia, to announce the approach of armaments from the Eastward, as from the town of Gibraltar vessels from the Westward only can be seen.

23. To the Eastward, and near the *Virgen de Europa*, was an admirably constructed Cistern or tank for receiving water;† so magnificent and of

* Now Windmill Hill.—*Tr.*

† It is still used as a tank, and now bears the name of the Nun's Well.—*Tr.*

such noble architecture, that it is difficult to divine whether it was the work of the Moors, or of more ancient times. Its shape is that of a *Trapezium*, seventy-eight feet long, forty-two and forty-eight in width, and eight feet high. Twenty-two solid pillars support the roof, and the descent is by steps, built of bricks. The whole exhibits the result of great perseverance and industry, for it is excavated in a solid rock, and no other place near to it seems fit for such an undertaking. The water collected there is good, and remains sweet throughout the year ; but the Cistern has suffered much from the effects of time. To the Northward of the Virgen de Europa, and above the Cove of *Laudero*, ran an old wall, wherein was a Moorish gate, leading to the place called the *Ruins of Fez* ; where it may be supposed was a settlement of Moors from the kingdom of Fez, or of merchants who from thence occasionally brought supplies for the Moors in Spain.

24. Notwithstanding the general sterility of this part of the Rock, there are numerous places where are found flowers and herbs, as well wild as cultivated, of delicious and aromatic fragrance ; and every where may the botanist find sufficient novelties to repay his labours in the research. Nor are trees of value wanting, affording fruit as well as shelter. The Algarrobo, or Carob Tree (*Ceratonia Siliqua*, L.), the timber of which is hard and valuable, yielding a fruit in the autumn given

to cattle, is very prevalent on the Rock, grows high, and affords much shelter. It requires little cultivation, and prefers stony places ; the sweeter sort of its fruit is agreeable to the palate, and all are nourishing for animals. The present possessors of the place, trusting perhaps to the abundance of these trees existing, bestow little attention on their propagation, which might be easily accomplished ; and this is the more remarkable, as the fruit is a remedy for the dysentery, a disease to which in warm climates the English are much subject.

25. But now let us speak of other and living productions, which in spite of the asperity of the Rock and the persecution of its owners, still maintain themselves on the mountain. These are the monkeys, who may be called the true owners, with possession from time immemorial ; always tenacious of their dominion, living for the most part on the Eastern side, in high and inaccessible chasms, neither the incursions of the Moors, the Spaniards, nor the English ; nor the cannon nor bombs of either, have been able to dislodge them. They are active, cunning, and sly ; and jealous of their ancient dwelling, they defend themselves against the ambition of their neighbours, the new comers, by frequently throwing stones at their working parties. Foxes are also found there ; but the most ferocious of the wild animals are the porcupines, and although they are rare, they are sufficiently formidable to the goats that attack them.

Snakes of great magnitude are also seen, both black and green, but they are not numerous : likewise lizards of different kinds, scorpions, and centipedes ; the first only are in any abundance.

26. Of birds the variety is great ; and besides the ordinary small birds, seen in incredible numbers in the seasons of migration, partridges, vultures, and storks are sometimes to be found. The Imperial Eagle has also been known to build her nest among the inaccessible crags. Such was the general character of this mountain when possessed by the Spaniards. Now in the hands of the English, it is as different as are the customs of these from those of the former inhabitants. The pertinacity with which it is attempted to be rendered impregnable evinces as well the mistrust of the present possessors, as the injustice of still retaining it.

27. In its proper place we shall notice the changes that have occurred, and in the meantime proceed to speak of the Town.

On the Western side, and near to the beach, on a flat widening as it approaches the foot of the Mountain, stands the Town of Gibraltar. Hernandez del Portillo asserts with earnestness, that it is subject to the influences of the planets Virgo and Libra. He attempts to prove it by reasoning, which, however, we omit, for such observations are somewhat futile. Of the salubrity of its climate there can be no doubt. The excessive heat

that oppresses many towns in Andalusia, as Seville, Ecija, and others is not felt there.

Gibraltar is with reason called the Montpellier of Spain ; nevertheless, the Levant winds that prevail through a great part of the year destroy this similarity : they sweep with violence over the mountain, the atmosphere becomes cloudy and full of vapour ; and during their continuance the most annoying and uncomfortable sensations are experienced ; vegetation languishes, and fresh meat can with difficulty be preserved four and twenty hours ; but the returning West wind causes the most delightful serenity, the air is mild and balmy, and Spring seems again to revive. Winter is perceptible, although little felt ; for frost and snow are unknown, while the mountains of Ronda and those in Africa present white-topped eminences from December till March.

28. The population has never continued great ; increasing and diminishing according to the circumstances of the times, to misfortunes happening to the City, or to the characters of its masters. In the time of the Moorish occupation it was much reduced by emigration after the Conquest. The Dukes of Medina Sidonia exerted themselves greatly to people the Rock while in their possession, and their Majesties Ferdinand V. and Philip IV., aware of the diminution of the population, and of the necessity that so important a place should be fully inhabited, made it a place of

transportation for those who deserved that punishment. About the year 1600, the number of inhabitants did not exceed 1500; but they greatly increased in the course of that century, owing to the traffic in its productions. The Town became widened, new works were undertaken, as that of the spacious and magnificent road of the Convent of Merced, and the number of families was increasing to 2500, although it never reached that number, owing to the frequent incursions of the Moors, who carried away the people as captives. Being so near to the African ports, the Moors were continually disembarking, overrunning the place, plundering the country houses and their inmates, and carrying away captive those who escaped being murdered. Very many persons left the Rock on this account, although some noble families remained, and especially those who had arrived there since the Conquest.

29. The City was composed principally of two districts, one called *Turba*, the other *Barcina*, both having the appearance of great antiquity. The first was situated without the walls of the Town, at some distance to the Southward, and walled in; its inhabitants, according to Portillo, were poor, and their dwellings very humble, all constituting a crowd or multitude, as the name imports. The *Barcina*, whose name is of doubtful origin, was situated Northward towards the Castle, and inhabited by the principal families. The

City possessed a principal street, and that of St. Anne, several good houses, some with Moorish turrets and well cultivated gardens, and it was defended by a wall, which remained until the place was lost.

80. The part called *Villa Vieja* (old Town) was below the Castle. It increased considerably in extending towards Barcina. Both were sufficiently defended, having at first possessed distinct walls, with gates for communication. Gibraltar* was most abundantly supplied; and of various kinds of its own produce, it had more than the inhabitants required, excepting oil, which it is remarkable they did not cultivate, although the soil is every where peculiarly fit for the growth of the olive tree; the wild kinds of which are abundant and very productive. Much wheat was grown, although more might have been obtained if the cultivation of it had been extended. The harvest scarcely sufficed for the great demand from Africa, Tangier, and Ceuta, the Royal Navies, Merchant ships, and others. It abounded in all kinds of cattle, swine, sheep, and goats, forming the wealth of the rich, whose capital, according to the maxims of the ancients, was made to consist mainly of flocks and herds. From hence were many neighbouring places supplied with

* In this term is comprised the district of many leagues, bearing the name of Gibraltar as before mentioned.—*Tr.*

provisions, and even the Plains of Andalusia, as far as the kingdom of Toledo, were ploughed with oxen drawn from Gibraltar: moreover, wines abounded, and were shipped with advantage to foreign countries, as well as to other parts of Spain.

31. We must also consider as part of the produce of Gibraltar the immense quantity of fish caught in the bay; more than a profusion for the inhabitants, and an abundant supply for the neighbourhood. The fish taken here was in ancient times celebrated in Greece, Italy, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean. In these waters were caught fish of large dimensions, described by authors of antiquity: The Cuttle-fish, (*Sepia Octopus*, L.) described by Pliny, as related by Trevio Niger, (lib. ix. cap. 30) was of such magnitude that the head was as large as a barrel of sixty gallons. Nor are there in our days species wanting of large dimensions, although the waters being more frequented by shipping, many have retired to other places. Nevertheless there is an abundance of Anchovies, Sea-bream, (*Sparus Pagrus*, L.) Cherna, (*Perca Cernua*, L.) the delicate Merlo, the nitrous Mackerel, that invariably makes his visits in the Spring. The Bonito, (*Scomber Pelamis*, L.) and many others. There was formerly carried on for Government account, within the limits of Gibraltar, probably at the place called *Almadrabilla*, an extensive Tunny Fishery, rented to the City,

for 10,000 maravedies. In fine, Portillo assures us “ that above all things is there in Gibraltar a great abundance of fish ; that from thence great part of Andalusia is supplied by carriers, who, to get a load of fish, carry there one of bread or oil ; as are also Malaga, Almeria, and the neighbouring towns.”

32. Portillo moreover remarks, “ That in Gibraltar are many wells and springs of sweet water,* possessing the qualities esteemed by medical men, being perfectly clear, free from taste or smell, light and digestible. Among others, about a league and a half from the Town, and near to Carteia, is the celebrated Spring of *Miraflores*. It gives out a large supply, of very digestive quality, found to be a cure for many disorders, and it is in fact a miraculous spring. The principal supply of water, however, in the Town, is at the Grand Parade :† it is brought by an aqueduct from the reservoirs at the foot of the Red Sands, and formerly supplied the town and shipping ; but at present it is insufficient for the use of the former. Near to Europa Point (on Windmill Hill, *Tr.*) the English have sunk a well of great depth in the solid rock ; also many others elsewhere, but for the most part the water obtained is bad, heavy, and brackish.

* Again is meant the district as above.

† When Ayala wrote, this was in the centre of the Town, where is now the Main Guard.—*Tr.*

Wherever in the sand on the Isthmus, called the Neutral Ground, a well is dug, there is found, on a level with the sea, or much higher, excellent good sweet water, pure and light, fit for drinking and all purposes of cookery ; and most serviceable likewise for the supply of the shipping in the Bay.

33. Notwithstanding that Gibraltar is exceedingly strong by nature, attempts have been made to render it impregnable. To this end the Emperor Charles V. and the Kings Philip II. and III. employed many engineers, who proposed various plans for fortifying it. Very intelligent and well informed inhabitants considered best that suggested by Don Alvaro Bazan, father of the first Marquis of Santa Cruz, and Alcalde, by substitute, of the Castle. It is said he intended to surround the North end of the Rock above the Castle, called the *Wolf's Leap*, with a wall, having Bastions and Traverses, until it reached the Tower of Don Alonzo, and terminating at the spot called *Silleta* (Small Saddle).

Thus would this part be so strongly fortified as to be impregnable ; for it could neither be mined, battered, nor assaulted. It would be a natural and secure Citadel, adding great strength to the City, which could be alone entered from the land side over a narrow causeway, protected on the left by the Rock, and on the right by the Sea. The Swamp between the Causeway and the Rock has since been converted into a Lake by the

English, and the approach has therefore become still more narrow.

But let us see the description given by Portillo of the Fortifications in his time.

“ Gibraltar has a Castle, which, in the time of the Moors, and before the use of Artillery, was very formidable; insomuch, that His Majesty, Don Alonzo XI. having besieged it twice, and after him the Conde de Niebla, with the royal forces, neither could make on it any impression. Moreover, when it was surrendered by Vasco Perez de Meira, it was the result of starvation, as is shewn in our histories, and not caused by the force of the enemy.” It was undoubtedly a work of the Africans, built on a high part of the Rock, to command the City or antient Town.

It consisted at first, as is customary with Moorish Castles, of three walls stretching down to the Arsenal on the Beach, and on its Southern Gate is an Inscription, shewing the time of its erection. Of its ancient Precincts, there remain only the *Tower of Homage* on the first wall, some of the foundation of the second, and part of the third on the North side, which has served to protect the Town from the shot fired from the Spanish Lines; and which bears numerous marks of the ill treatment of their balls. “ It has within,” says Portillo, “ a Tower called Calahorra, which tradition says was built by Hercules; in front, a redoubt called *Giralda*, of amazing strength, and capable of

containing sufficient numbers to defend the place, as was seen in the year 1333, when besieged by Don Alonzo. The construction of these buildings is curious, and worthy the attention of artificers, who from the style of their architecture may learn much. On the Giralda are sentries continually on the watch, and whose duty it is to ring the Alarm Bell on the approach of an enemy, as a signal to all parts of the Rock. At the sound of this Bell, the inhabitants take to arms and disperse in all directions, to be ready as occasion may require." Near to this Tower is a small Building, that undoubtedly was used as a Chapel, for in it is an inscription in Arabic; *To the God of Peace; the great Pacificator; to the eternal God who will be for ever.* Portillo continues: "Underneath this Castle are many apartments, evidently the work of the Moors; the domes are of their style of architecture, made with great nicety and beauty. Within the boundaries are Gardens, Fruit Trees, and Vines; also many Tanks for water; Platforms for Artillery, and the space comprised by them is little less than that of the whole City."

34. The Tower called *Tuerto** (originally *Puerto*, port—harbour—pass) was another of the principal fortifications of Gibraltar. Its construc-

* Now the Dockyard Fort.—Tr.

tion would indicate that it is more ancient than the time of the Moors, but that certain parts evidently show the work of their hands. Its figure was that of a Pentagon; the entrance was gained by ladders; the apartments within were spacious and good, with a *Place d'Armes*, Artillery being always mounted until the year 1596, when it was thought fit to remove the Guns and place them on the Bastion *del Rosario*.† There, also, was an Alarm Bell, as at the Calahorra, being rung occasionally during the night by those on watch, to deter the Moors from landing; and incessantly, if they attempted to disembark. In the year 1620, this Tower, *Tuerto*, was renewed and enlarged, becoming a strong and extensive Fort; at the foot of which was then commenced the New Mole, and on the rear was formed a Plaza, where some buildings were erected. It was originally intended to defend the entrance to the Bay, and give shelter to Vessels pursued by the Moors or other enemies; there was assigned to it a separate Alcalde or Governor, with Troops and Artillery.

To close the description of the City and its fortifications, we shall make a tour of the Circumference of the Mountain, strongly defended by Nature and aided by works of Art. The back, or the Eastern side, overlooking the Mediter-

† Now Southport Bastion.—Tr.

anean, was of most difficult approach from the Easternmost point to the little Cove or Bay called *Almadrabilla*, where there was a landing place; proceeding hence to the West was the first projecting point of Europa,* called also *Lion's Point*, inclining towards the Mediterranean. The other, Europa Point, overlooked the Straits, and between these, towards the Sea, were the well we have described, and the Chapel of the Virgen de Europa; the first to the Eastward, the other more to the West.

At a short distance from these, first appeared the Bay of *Laudero*,† next that of *Remedios* (Refuge), being overlooked by the Chapel of that name. Then followed a large Bay called *Colorado*,‡ on a projecting point of which stood the Torre del Tuerto, and a small one of *San Juan el Verde*. Next to these were the Red Sands until reaching the City. The whole was defended by a regular wall, but as well by the injuries of Time, as the negligence of the inhabitants, it has been suffered to go to decay, and the greater part is in ruins.

All this shore was easy of access, extending, as has been said, 875 paces; differing greatly from the part we have passed over from the Eastward,

* Now Europa Advance.

† Now Camp Bay and Little Bay.

‡ Where is now the Dock-yard.—Tτ.

coasting from the *Almadrabilla*, all of which is defended by perpendicular rock of great height. Along the above shore from Torre Tuerto, until reaching the wall of the town, were three bastions, one called *Santa Cruz*, another, *Our Lady of Rosario*, and another at the South Port Gate. These were constructed in the time of the Emperor Charles V. and of Philip II., as were also the walls, built by Juan Bautista Calvi, running to the top of the mountain. One is falsely called the Moorish wall, but the principal one still retains the name of Charles V., whose arms may be distinctly seen over South Port Gate. From this point along the sea line ran another wall to the Old Mole, within which was the *Artarazana** (arsenal), where were received and sheltered the galleys when pursued by enemies in the Bay. It communicated with the Castle, and formed part of it in its earlier days. This Mole was in former times defended by a bastion called *del Canuto*, or San Sebastians, from which ran a wall to Land Port, uniting itself there with the lower part of the Rock. On the Mole was an old tower, called *Leandro*,† which blew up on the day the place was taken by the English. Continuing from Land Port along the foot of the mountain

* In our possession it became the naval store-house and cooperage, and has been subsequently converted into officers' quarters.

† On this Mole is now the Devil's Tongue Battery.—Tr.

till the shore of the Mediterranean ; on the right is the face of the Rock, stretching upwards to the places called *Peregil* and *Salto del Lobo*, and the high point overlooking the Spanish territory ; and here Nature has rendered unnecessary the effect of art for its defence. Approaching the Mediterranean is the Devil's Tower, beyond which are two bays,* whence a narrow path called *Senda del Pastor*, or Shepherd's Path, rough, narrow, irregular, and dangerous, led to the Heights of the *Quiebra* and the place called *Silleta*, from which is a full view of the Bay, having below it San Michael's Cave, already described.

35. Although the Government of Spain, not satisfied with the natural strength of the Rock, added to it for its security many walls, bastions, and towers, they never carried the fortifications to the extent reached by the English.

It is scarcely possible to describe the works these have added ; the escarpments, batteries, bastions, and mines that by them have been constructed. On every side the Rock has been cut down so as to render it inaccessible ; and if in some parts it has not been reduced to a perpendicular, it was in order to leave flats whereon to plant artillery : such are the batteries on the heights that flank and command the entrance on the land side. The old walls have been rebuilt

* The larger one is now called Catalan Bay.—Tr.

with more art and with stronger bastions, ranging without intermission, and of great strength, from Land Port to the New Mole. It is said that a premium has been offered to any one who should discover a spot, either weak or overlooked, not where the place might be entered, but where any point of the Rock might be clandestinely gained; the English persisting so tenaciously in rendering it impregnable, as to cause the expenditure of many millions of pounds sterling, for that object. The back of the mountain has been cut away to a height that removes all fear of danger. The *Senda del Pastor* has been utterly destroyed, so that no vestige remains; and in the Bay of the *Almadrabilla*, and the coves round Europa Point towards the New Mole, not only has the Rock been cut away, but walls have been added, and platforms for artillery made. It may fairly be estimated that in these and other works to increase the fortifications, the English have expended since the Rock came into their possession, from 130 to 280 thousand dollars annually.

A company of 100 artificers is always kept there, commanded by engineer officers, under the direction of a colonel of that corps; without mentioning other auxiliary workmen who have assisted in changing the entire face of the Rock, and making excavations, escarpments, and ditches, and in constructing roads in places that appeared inaccessible.

36. The Government of Gibraltar and its dependencies has greatly varied according to times and circumstances, to a state of war or peace, or to the character of its possessors. In the days of the Moors it was regarded as a stronghold kept for the especial purpose of securing the entrance of these Africans into Spain. But what laws, what observance of them, or what stable justice, in times altogether military and turbulent, could be expected in a place possessed alternately by Spanish and African Moors, who successively conquered it, lost it, ceded it, or again had it surrendered to them; although there reigned in it a petty king, as will hereafter be shown? When first conquered by Fernando IV. it had a military and a civil Alcalde, with a Chief Alguacil, and two inferior ones.

By letters patent from this Sovereign, confirmed by his son, Don Alonzo XI., 300 of the inhabitants performed the whole military service. It was then a place of disorder; no difference in rank existed, no nobility, no privileges, not only such nobles as arrived there, but the Alcalde himself being included among the commonalty.

Henry IV., after having conquered it, established magistrates and persons of separate authority; and as soon as it came into the possession of the Duke of Medina, Don Juan de Guzman, he, by the favour and permission of the above Sovereign, appointed thirteen chief magistrates and six

inferior officers. He established a Corregidor and an Alcalde ; naming from among the lesser magistrates (regidores) two inferior Justices of the Peace. He appointed also a Town Council and Public Scrivener, as well as other officers necessary for conducting a good Government. This state of things endured from the year 1468 to 1502, during which time their Catholic Majesties held the Rock, as belonging to the crown.

The military Government required at all times the greatest care and attention. To an Alcalde, especially appointed, was assigned the whole business of the military service, without any voice in that which related to the town. Under his orders were the troops, mountain guards, workmen, and numerous others for the defence of the place. Henry IV. preserved and increased this Militia, and the Dukes of Medina added largely to the means for its support. Subsequently numerous changes took place as well in the governors as in the mode of governing. The command in the 16th century was held in great estimation, and generally confided to lieutenant-generals, or other officers of high rank, acting in unison with the chief Alcaldes, whose offices were always preserved.

37. We now proceed to speak of the Government of the Church, as described by Portillo :—

“ Gibraltar is in the Diocese of Cadiz and Algeciras, and it would be reasonable that the Bishop should reside six months there in the Ca-

thedral; but this has never been required by the City, or, otherwise, it would have taken place. For this Dignitary is denominated Bishop of Cadiz and Algeciras; and by the favour of King Henry and other Catholic Sovereigns, Gibraltar, as is notorious, is the Reversioner of Algeciras and its precincts; the City in general, and many of the Inhabitants in particular, enjoying and having possessions in Algeciras, its houses, lands, streets, and boundaries. Consequently, if Gibraltar is the hereditary Reversioner of Algeciras, and all its rights and privileges are acknowledged in the Royal Audiencia at Algeciras; what law, human or divine, can deprive it of the rights and honours appertaining to that place, now no longer separately existing? one of the principal of which is, that the Bishop of Gibraltar should reside there, as he has done at Algeciras? Other sentiments have, however, prevailed, and in this City have never resided either Bishops or Canons. For the Government of the Church and the Clergy, a Vicar was sent here by the Bishop, being always a person of rank, learning, and virtue. This Church has five small Benefices, the Incumbents receiving the emoluments without residing; while Curates are appointed to administer the Sacraments, and perform the Service of the Church and the Altar.

“ The principal Church appears to have been originally a Moorish Mosque, and, by no means,

an insignificant one, as may be seen, by the marble in the Buildings, Cloisters, and the Court of Orange Trees, and which resembles that in the Church at Cordova, as well in colour, as length and thickness. On the sides are Chapels dedicated to illustrious Founders, among them a sumptuous one erected by Gonzalo de Piña, as a Sepulchre for himself and the other Knights of the illustrious House of Piña, one of the most noble and antient of the City."

In former times, there were also in Gibraltar four Monasteries,—three of Friars and one of Monks. The principal one was that of San Francisco; and although the year of its foundation was unknown, it is conjectured, it was established in 1490, or even earlier, and that it belonged to the Order of San Benedict. It underwent many alterations and augmentations, and was occupied by Friars of devout and holy life. There existed also the Convent of the Mercedes for the redemption of Captives. Its establishment dates from 1581, when the City adopted the Foundation of the venerable and pious Father Juan Bernal, Chaplain of Philip the Second. A few years afterwards, the Friars of San Juan de Dios took possession of an Hospital, established by the private funds of a most virtuous and charitable individual, named Juan Mateo. In 1587 was begun the Monastery of the Franciscan Nuns of Santa Clara, founded by two noble

Ladies, who took the habit of that Order. Of this and the other religious establishments, further information will be given as we proceed. We may mention, however, the remarks of Portillo on this subject :—

“ Gibraltar was adorned by a great number of holy sanctuaries. It has a Church of San Juan de Lateran, of moderate size and structure, having a Prior, Clergymen, and Chaplains, although it is not a Parish Church ; it is subordinate to the Church and College of San Juan de Lateran at Rome. There is also a most antient Church in the part called *Villa Vieja*, formerly Moorish, but now known by the name of Our Lady *de la Cabeza*. In the Barcina was the very antient Church of San Sebastian ; with the exception of the part used as a Vestry, this building seems to have been the work of Christian hands. The Brotherhood of the *Santa Vera Cruz* have a beautiful and elegant Church in the principal street. In the Great Square is another Religious House, having an Hospital called *de la Misericordia*, for the relief of the sick poor, and the cure of all diseases, except those accompanied by buboes. Deserted children are there nourished, and it is a most charitable Institution, existing from the time the place was first gained from the Moors. At South Port is a Chapel of Our Lady de la Rosario, and in most of these establishments there are different Brotherhoods

under various appellations." Thus far speaks Alonzo Hernandez del Portillo ; and it is thought advisable to preserve his remarks, not so much for the generality of readers, as for the information of the inhabitants of the three towns of San Roque, Algeciras, and Los Barrios—children, or the descendants of the Spanish inhabitants of Gibraltar—whom they so deeply interest ; and who will read them with great delight, while they despise those who may consider them trifling.

38. Let us now offer some remarks concerning the weather and the prevailing winds, also on the prognostications, confirmed by the experience of mariners and others, and always serving them for their guidance in navigating these seas.

When a calm takes place, and the atmosphere is serene, the following are signs of an approaching East wind :—A sensible humidity in the air, a pricking in wounds or old sores, chronic pains returning, and a melancholy and lassitude felt even by the healthy.

The East wind will continue at least during the following day, if a cloud, like spreading feathers, is observed to pass over the middle of the Mountain to the Westward.

The sure and agreeable prognostics of a West wind, are the clouds clearing from the coasts, the atmosphere beginning to feel dry, valetudinarians feeling better, and the healthy more vigorous.

While the Straits continue cloudy in Winter, showers from the South-West may be expected ; if they clear away, it is an indication of a North or North-West wind, fresh and agreeable, and sometimes extremely cold.

Throughout the immediate neighbourhood, the winds between North-East and South-East are termed Levant Winds ; those from North-West to South-West, West Winds ; for whatever may be the others outside the Straits, on approaching these they assume the characters above-mentioned. It may truly be said that the Levant wind is the King or rather the Tyrant of Gibraltar. It reigns in the Straits, with some intermissions, nearly four months during the Summer. It is cloudy, hot, and moist, the furniture in houses becomes damp ; iron and steel rusty, and fresh meat cannot be preserved four-and-twenty hours. On the other hand the West wind, or *Poniente*, is the delight of the country. It is clear, fresh, and dry, prevailing during the Winter and Spring ; when Gibraltar may be well compared to the Montpellier of France.

The South-East wind blows also in Winter ; it is warm and most tempestuous, and rages violently for successive days, bringing with it heavy and copious rains ; hence the Portuguese when in Ceuta had a saying : *Quando com levante chove, as pedras move*.*

* Rain with a Levanter makes the stones canter.

Due North and South winds last but a short time ; the former soon becomes a West wind, and the latter is the precursor of a Levanter, which sometimes continues many days, inundating the country with rain.

39. All these inconveniences of storms and Levanters that incommode this district, are amply compensated by the abundance of its produce, as well of the fish that abounds in its waters ; giving to the inhabitants of this Coast the best kind found in both Seas, of most excellent quality and flavour. It is on these shores that is found the immense Tunny : and here were the Tunny Fisheries, which, from remote ages, gave so much celebrity to Cadiz, Carteia, and the Straits we have described. The word Tunny comes from the Hebrew *Tanin*, signifying a very large Fish or Sea Monster. At the commencement of its growth it is called *Cordilla*, after forty days *Auxida*, before a year old *Pelamis*, then *Thynnus* ; at two years old *Orcyno*, and when arrived at maturity *Cete*. When it becomes the *Thynnus*, it is seven feet in length, its jaw-bones are equal, with teeth in the roof and in the gullet. It is furnished with seven or eight fins on the sides, the breast, and the belly. During the Winter it remains in the Atlantic ; in the Summer in the Black Sea, passing to it in the Spring ; and in the Autumn it returns to the Atlantic in numerous shoals. It passes also the shores of Gallipoli,

Constantinople, and the Crimea. The Tunny Fishery of Constantinople was famous ; and that city, Sinope, Anquiala, many places on our own Coasts, and above all Cadiz and Carteia, had the Tunny engraved on their coins.

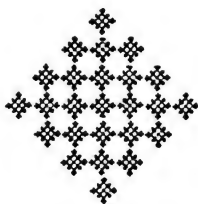
The object of these voyages seems to be, to deposit its spawn in the Black Sea, whose waters are sweeter, and where there are no voracious Whales to disturb it. The *Xiphia*, or Sword Fish, is its greatest enemy, and in dread of it, it keeps near the Shore, for it is as cowardly as corpulent. The Tunny sees but little with its left eye, for which reason, and because it finds on these Coasts an abundance of *Bellota*,* that affords it nourishment, it seeks our shores on its passage to the Ocean. It feeds also on the Rock Shell-Fish (*Purpura*) which, according to Strabo, abounds near Carteia. Craw Fish have been found in its maw, notwithstanding it is reputed to be inoffensive and a symbol of parental affection : Opiano in his *Halieuticon* pathetically describes the cries of the Tunny when it sees its young entangled in the nets.

The Dukes of Medina Sidonia possessed exclusively the Tunny Fishery on all the Coasts of Andalusia. The fish caught there was highly celebrated in Greece and at Rome in ancient times, as were also the sauces and condiments

* A Shell-Fish, in shape resembling an acorn.

prepared at Cadiz. The profit of this fishery is not now to be compared with that derived from it in former ages. In 1558 were taken 110,152 Tunny Fish, and this branch alone gave to the House of Medina Sidonia 80,000 Ducats annually: but now the fishery would be considered valuable if it yielded 10,000 Tunny: either that the species is becoming extinguished, or, as is more probable, the Fish have taken another route. The continued sailing of vessels about the Bay of Cadiz have frightened them away, and still more the numerous *Parejas* (Fishing Boats) established at Port St. Mary's, San Lucan, and other places, whose mode of fishing leads to extermination. These fishermen, foreigners, driven from their own country, find an asylum in Andalusia; they use nets prohibited by law, the meshes of which are so small as to prevent the escape of the small fry. They evade the prohibition against fishing in the spring with the pretext of seeking for lost anchors, which under certain conditions they are bound to do. In fine, the Tunny fishing is not now to be compared with that of former times carried on from Cadiz, Santa Petri, Conil, Zara, Tarifa, Carteia, and Gibraltar; it is now almost confined to Conil, the only celebrated place in our days. At that Port yet exists an Establishment with the necessary apparatus; a Captain with assistants is appointed, and oversees to superintend the movements of the different

parties, to each of which a separate duty is assigned. From the high Watch-Towers along the Coast experienced Fishermen look out, distinguishing at the distance of many miles the shoals of Tunny, as they approach; the number of which they from long practice describe with much accuracy. They acquaint, by signal, those at Sea, whether the fish are near, distant, or without the reach of their nets. The fishermen in their boats, acting accordingly and with great celerity, extend first a semicircular net, made of *Esparto* (Grass Rope), with wide meshes, within which the fish are retained until surrounded by a stronger hempen one; this is drawn towards the shore with much shouting, and finally landed on the Beach, where the fish are secured to be salted and sold at foreign markets.





CHAPTER II.



ALTHOUGH many writers of antiquity, from Herodotus to Pliny, have treated of the Straits of Gibraltar, and some, like Mela, have minutely described the coasts and

places adjacent, they no where mention the existence of a Town on the Rock, or that it was at any time inhabited.

The Carthaginians, established on the coast of Africa, possessed for many years the country adjoining the Straits; they frequented the Ports of Andalusia, and carried on a most profitable commerce; they occupied the towns along the coast, and ruled with undisturbed sway, until they were finally expelled from the peninsula by the Romans.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Andalusia, the Straits, and both shores were for 150 years afflicted by the inroads of the barbarians, who every where committed the greatest excesses, and gave the final blow to the once celebrated and opulent City of Carteia.

During this long period no mention is made by any writer, while describing the events occurring in Spain, of any Town situated on the Rock of Gibraltar; and it is the opinion of Henry Florez, and other learned men, that, until the arrival of the Moors, this Mountain remained uninhabited.

It is not intended to discuss the opinions of Arabian writers, who pretend to possess minute details on this subject, but we may admit that Tarik, about the year 708, first embarked for Spain with about 1700 Arabs and African Moors.

Ben Hazil, a celebrated Moorish Historian of Granada, says, that he first landed at Algeciras, to reconnoitre and learn the disposition of the Spaniards, whence he passed over to the Rock of Gibraltar, where he fortified himself, giving to it the name of *Gibal Tarik*: whereas others affirm that, having landed at Gibraltar, he passed to Algeciras, which was the first town conquered in Spain in 710, and the ninetieth year of the Hegira.

2. This extremity of the Peninsula was at that time under the government of Teodomiro, a celebrated captain of the Goths, in whose presence and powerful aid the natives hoped to find protection against the inroads of the ambitious Mahometans. Their disembarkation was quickly made known to Don Rodrigo, Archbishop of Seville, who lost no time in assembling his forces to assist the Goths; with an army of 9000 men he was

quickly in the field, when a decisive battle was fought near Xerez, on the banks of the Guadalete, ending in the defeat of the Goths, leading to the total ruin of their empire in Spain, and the subjecting the nation to the cruel slavery it endured for 800 years.

3. At this period may be determined the commencement of the peopling of Gibraltar: the Moors had established themselves, and constructed new fortifications; and the Port was greatly frequented, as well for the disembarkation of the troops, with which they overran the country, as for the emigrants from all the Mahometan dominions, who came to establish themselves in Spain; and ultimately for the numerous armies that crossed from Africa in the time of the Viceroy of the Caliphat, to maintain the conquests made by the Almorabides, the Almohades, and Benimerines.

The influx was great both of Troops and Settlers; and then it was that the Two Mountains (Calpe and Abyla) obtained the name of *Transductiva Promontoria*, or Promontories of passage, given to them by Isidoro Pacense, by the Archbishop Don Rodrigo, and other writers of that age.

4. In the year 737, Aucupa, or Acba, governed as Viceroy in Spain, in the name of the Caliph of Damascus. He was conducting a numerous army against the Franks, and had already reached

Zaragoza, when he learned the news of the Commotion and Rebellion in Africa. He returned from his Expedition to Andalusia; and from Gibraltar, whence, not having been able to subdue the rebels by the help of the Arabs he had sent over, he passed with his army into Africa, and succeeded by skill and good fortune, in re-establishing tranquillity for a time, by the aid of the chosen troops he carried with him.

5. The Dominion of Aucupa lasted only five years. In 742, he was succeeded by Abdul Malic; and about this period was undoubtedly enlarged and completed, if not then first erected, the Moorish Castle; the commencement of which is ascribed to the fatal arrival of Tarik. An Inscription over the South Gate enables us to determine this as the period of its erection, or, at least, completion. It is as follows:

“ Prosperity and Peace to our Sovereign and Slave of the Supreme God, Governor of the Moors, Our Sovereign Abi Abul Hajez, Son of Jesid, Supreme Governor of the Moors, Son of our Sovereign Abi Al-Walid, whom God preserve.”

Portillo mentions the Inscription without explaining the meaning, but Mr. Carter in his “ Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga ” gives this as the Translation, and there is no doubt of its correctness.

Of the important Events which, in those days, continually occurred in the district of Gibraltar,

little is now known; but it is certain, they were connected with the frequent Revolutions and Wars in which Spain was continually engaged with the opposite Coast of Africa.

6. From antient writers of veracity we learn that in 846 (231 of the Hegira) the Normans overran the coasts in the neighbourhood of Cadiz and Gibraltar; and that twelve years afterwards, they again made an incursion, carrying away immense riches plundered from the Moors of Spain;—that Abderraman, third King of Cordova, famous among its Monarchs, who died in 962, conquered Ceuta and other places on the African Coast; and that Almansor, first Minister of King Hescam, the most renowned for military and political genius of the Chiefs among the Moors of Spain, was born at Algeciras; and that soon after his death in 1003, the District of Gibraltar was witness to one of those sanguinary contests, in which the Moors in those days destroyed each other; also that near the River Miel, another sanguinary battle took place between Soliman Ben Alhakem and Mohamed Ben Hescam, both tyrants, who disputed the possession of Cordova; terminating in the legitimate Monarch Hescam the Second, surnamed Almoyayed, being kept in prison and being considered as no longer in existence.

In 1069, Abul Casem Ben Abad, King of Seville, extended his power to the Straits of

Gibraltar; while Granada, Zaragoza, Valencia, and Badajos had each a separate Sovereign; the smallness of whose dominions facilitated the great conquests made by the Kings of Castille and Aragon, in the Kingdoms of Toledo, Portugal, and Valencia. The Infidels alarmed, sought the aid of Jusef Ben Tascphin, who was conducting a powerful army through the Straits. The disembarkation made on these coasts on this and subsequent occasions, by the Almorabides and their successors, continued many months, and Gibraltar naturally partook of these great events; for the strength of its position, the convenience of its Port, and its proximity to Ceuta afforded great facility for the landing of such numerous armies.

Jusef, in the first place, took possession of Tarifa, Gibraltar, and Algeciras, in which city he was received with great magnificence, by the Governor Abulkaled, son of the King of Seville. In 1086 he overcame Don Alonzo VI. at Zalaca, near to Badajos, with a loss to the Christians of 35,000 men; and during the remainder of his life, which terminated in 1106, he made frequent visits to Spain, not so much to oppress the Christians as to possess himself of all the Dominions of the Arabs, seizing the States of the Kings of Granada, Seville, Badajos, and Zaragoza. Gibraltar had submitted to his authority, but as the Mahometans felt the dire necessity of admitting into their dominions more powerful Allies, and

determined to throw off the yoke of the common Tyrant, they marched against Algeciras and Gibraltar, then in favour of the Almorabides, and took possession of both places. In the meantime, Ali, Son and successor of Tascphin, continued to land troops on the coast. He besieged Toledo, and gained the Battle of Uclés, in which was slain the Infante Don Sancho, Son of Don Alonzo, King of Castille; an unhappy conflict for Spain, and known in our Chronicles by the name of *The Battle of the Seven Counts*, for in it there perished seven valiant Knights of that rank.

During one hundred and fifty years subsequently to this event, this devoted Country was perpetually the scene of the most sanguinary contests with the Moors, whose immense armies, continually poured in from Africa, threatened with entire subjugation and slavery the whole of the Peninsula. The Districts of Gibraltar and Algeciras partook largely of these misfortunes, for at these Ports the armies were undisturbedly disembarked.

7. As soon, however, as Don Fernando IV., distinguished by the name of Emplazado, was enabled by the termination of his truce with Muley Mahomed, King of Granada, to direct his arms against the Infidels, he laid siege to Algeciras in 1309. Finding, however, that the Besieged received by sea continual succours from the

Moors of Gibraltar, the Castillian King determined to get possession of the Rock, for which purpose, he detached from his army Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, a celebrated Captain of that age, to deprive the enemy of this support and assistance. Accompanied by numerous great personages to assist as well with their counsel as their arms, Guzman resolved on a simultaneous attack on all sides; and leaving the Archbishop of Seville and Don Juan Nunez to attack on the North front, he landed the remainder of his forces, and gaining the Heights that command the Castle, he commenced immediately to assault it. On this occasion was erected the Tower of Don Alonzo (so named from Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, and not from the Eleventh Castillian King of that name,) and with such diligence and strength was it constructed, being furnished with wide and substantial walls, on which were placed two Battering Engines, that immense stones were immediately discharged against the Calahorra, against the walls of the Castle, and against the Town beyond it, in which was the chief population. Although, by these means, the houses, the towers, and the numerous defences were battered to the ground, the Moors were not intimidated: only 1100 in number, and straitened on all sides, they continued to repair the Works, defending the place most gallantly, and retarded the victory a whole month. At length, after a sanguinary and obstinate contest, they were obliged to

surrender, stipulating only, that they should be allowed their liberty and be transported to Africa. Thus ended in the year 1309 the First Siege and Capture of Gibraltar.

Don Alonzo hastened to communicate this pleasing intelligence to the King, that he might personally take possession of a place, of the strength of which he seemed to be altogether ignorant; for on entering it and observing the peculiarity of its situation, with uplifted hands he gave thanks to Providence for the reduction under his dominion of a Rock and Castle, so important and almost impregnable.

He lost no time in re-building the walls and re-establishing the fortifications. He constructed the dock-yard* for the shelter of shipping and defence of the Port; with a strong tower to prevent the approach of the enemy's vessels. He left troops, arms, and supplies, for the maintenance of his conquest, and to repel any farther invasions that might be attempted by the Moors from Africa or the neighbouring districts.

8. Don Fernando resolved now to abandon the Siege of Algeciras, as well from the difficulty of the undertaking, as in consequence of the advantageous proposals made to him by Mahomad, the King of Granada: viz., to surrender the towns of Belmar and Quesada, together with 100,000 crowns for the expenses of the war. He pre-

* At the Old Mole.—Tr.

viously, however, settled the government of Gibraltar, confiding its defence to Alonzo Fernandez de Mendoza ; and on the last day of February, 1310, caused to be issued from Xerez de la Frontera, his Letters Patent of Privileges (App. I.), which may be considered as the municipal constitution of the place. As privileges thus given differed according to circumstances, the Kings were accustomed to establish different rules of government, and greater or less exemptions, according to the situation of the place, its distance from other Christian towns, the proximity to it of the Moors, or the danger of surprise from these Infidels.

As regarded Gibraltar, all these motives concurred to render necessary for it the largest exemptions that were granted to any districts recovered from these Invaders ; and thus Ferdinand IV., being resolved to provide in the first place against an attack, directed his chief attention to the population, assigning 300 men, besides those of the watch towers, to do military service in the way pointed out in the Letters Patent ; all to receive a stipulated pay according to their employment, with advantages to their children in case of death. Exemptions and privileges of the most extensive nature were granted, and every means devised for encouraging an increase of population for the defence of the Rock and the district belonging to it.

At that time all the inhabitants were of uniform

and moderate condition, including the Alcalde of the Castle, as expressed in the Royal Order. Besides that officer an Alguacil and subordinates were appointed by the Governor : they held their offices for life ; to them was confided the care of the place, and its defence against the infidels ; and the government so established lasted until these again became possessed of it in the time of Don Alonzo XI. Provision was made for the repartition of prizes or captives ; a Seal was granted for the use of the city ; the administration of justice was to be according to the privileges of Toledo ; permission was granted to take annually for the service of the city 10,000 maravedies from the royal Tunny Fishery, at Gibraltar, one-third of the profit of the salt pans of the district, and the rents of the retail shops ; the only exception being the payment of the clerical tithes. Nevertheless, the extreme danger that in those days was incurred by living near the coast, unless in fortified places, in consequence of the continual inroads of the Moors, who plundered the inhabitants and carried away captive those they did not murder, caused the district of Gibraltar to be but thinly peopled ; hence the anxiety of the King to grant privileges and exemptions to those who chose to dwell there, whereby Gibraltar became, in fact, an asylum for delinquents and criminals almost of every grade ; for by a short residence there, as in other frontier towns, they were exempt from the punishment

that elsewhere awaited them. The Royal Act declares, " that every resident of Gibraltar, whether swindler, petty thief, robber, manslaughterer, or any other criminal, shall enjoy security within its district ; so also shall any woman escaped from her husband, without molestation or injury from any person whatever. Nor is it necessary they should perpetually reside there, it being sufficient that they remain there a year and a day, to prevent them being pursued by justice." And documents are in existence relating to persons who escaped punishment, solely on account of such residence.

An exception was made however against traitors, against disturbers of the King's treaties and truces, against him who carried off the wife of his lord, and against those who committed crimes *within* Gibraltar.

Moreover, every vessel arriving in the Bay, in good weather or bad, was to pay anchorage, if not unloading, according to the regulation observed at Seville ; if she discharged she was exempted, as were the vessels that cruised against the enemies of our faith.

All these privileges and immunities granted by Ferdinand IV. were confirmed by Alonzo XI., in December, 1367.*

9. Two years after this conquest by the Chris-

* Appendix, No. I.

tians, Mahomad el-Ami, brother of Mahomad, enraged at the loss of Gibraltar, and its surrender to the Christians, conspired against him and had him put to death in Granada.

By his decease all truces were dissolved, and the Infante Don Pedro, brother of the Castillian King, took possession of Alcaudete. Ismael Ebu Nasir possessed himself of Granada, calculating on effective assistance from the Moors of Barbary, while Mahomad el-Ami retired to Guadix, hoping for succour from the Christians. These were twice under the walls of Granada, commanded by Don Pedro, uncle to Don Alonzo XI., the infant son of Ferdinand IV. On Don Pedro retiring to Seville, Ismael, in revenge, laid siege to Gibraltar, in 1315. The attempt was ineffectual and of short duration, for on the approach of Don Pedro the siege was immediately raised.

Notwithstanding this failure, the Moors, by whom Gibraltar was considered the key of Spain, being of the utmost importance for the introduction of troops and supplies from Barbary, resolved on another attempt for its recovery. To this end, the King of Fez, having formed an alliance in 1331 with the King of Granada, sent over his son, Abdul Malic, with 7000 cavalry and a large force of infantry. He landed at Algeciras, styling himself King of that place, and of Ronda, determined to commence the career of conquest he meditated by first gaining possession of Gibraltar. Without loss

of time he moved towards it his immense forces, and instantly began the siege, assuring himself of certain success.

Twenty-two years had elapsed since this celebrated place was reclaimed from the Moors; but we are now to see it again subjected to the dangers of another and third siege, and ultimately its surrender to the Infidels.

At this period, Vasco Perez de Meira, a Gallician knight, was Governor; but he, more intent on laying the foundation of large entailed estates, than on the care of so important a charge, diverted to the purchase of large properties near Xerez, and to other such uses, the means granted by the King for the maintenance of the garrison and the purchase of arms and provisions sufficient to endure in case of a lengthened interruption with the neighbourhood. His covetousness led him even to sell the stores he possessed to the Moors, who gladly purchased, with a premeditated intention of attacking when scarcity should prevail among the Christians.

Abdul Malic immediately possessed himself of the whole of the Mountain beyond the reach of the Castle, and also of the dock-yard and port, to prevent the introduction of supplies by the arrival of Christian vessels. The Spanish Admiral, Alonzo Jofre Tenorio, was yet in Seville, whence he was ordered by the King to proceed to guard the Straits, when he received advices from the

Alcaldes of Tarifa and Gibraltar, that Moorish vessels, with horses, arms, provisions, and all necessary implements of war were on the coast of Algeciras. On his arrival in the Straits, with fifteen galleys and six large vessels, he learned that the Moors were already in possession of the port and arsenal of Gibraltar, and that to attempt to throw in supplies through that channel was useless. Fortunately, a vessel laden with wheat had been cast ashore eight days before the commencement of the siege, and with this succour Vasco Perez was enabled to prolong the defence to which he was urged by letters from the King, who promised to proceed without delay to his assistance. For this purpose, he despatched, in anticipation, to the frontier, the grandmasters of Santiago, of Alcantara, and Calatrava, there to unite themselves to such powerful men and officers of the Council, whom they might meet, and endeavour to raise the siege of the castle and town of Gibraltar. Similar orders were given to Juan Alonzo de Guzman, to Don Pedro Ponce, and others, councillors of the cities and towns of Seville, Cordova, and Jaen.

The activity and martial spirit of Don Alonzo would have led him instantly to appear in person before Gibraltar, but that the plottings and intrigues of Nuñez de Lara, and the son of the Infante Don Manuel, rendered necessary the greatest precautions, on quitting the centre of his do-

minions, unless accompanied by these powerful noblemen. To this end no kindness was spared, large payments were made to them for providing troops, and their desires, however unreasonable, complied with. The King publicly announced at Valladolid his intention of succouring Gibraltar, and invited the rich and powerful to accompany him, bestowing on all favours and largesses. But neither de Lara nor Don Juan Manuel, although having received large sums for the occasion, joined the King's forces. They remained in Castille, and together with Don Juan Alfonzo de Haro, a lord of the bedchamber, were employed in oppressing the people and disturbing the government of Alonzo.

The King, on his journey Southward, borrowed large sums of money in Valladolid, Burgos, and Toledo, and continually wrote to Perez de Meira, encouraging him to hold out until he could arrive to his assistance.

In the meantime his anxieties and disquietudes greatly increased, for as soon as Abdul Malic commenced the Siege of Gibraltar, the King of Granada, then in alliance with the Moors of Morocco, entered the kingdom of Cordova ; besieged Castro el Rio, and so straitened it, that it must have fallen, but for the assistance received from that capital, and the effectual aid given by Martin Alonzo, an illustrious branch of the warlike family of Fernandez de Cordova. From Castro el Rio,

the Moorish King came to Cabra, which place he destroyed, and then attacked, though unsuccessfully, Baena ; this expedition, however, prevented the inhabitants of the frontier affording assistance to Gibraltar, while it served to increase the difficulties and embarrassments with which Don Alonzo was surrounded.

The King at length reached Seville, and was soon joined by his Councillors, and many men of celebrity. In the Camp of Tablada he deliberated with these and others of his Royal Council on the measures to be pursued. He acquainted them with his determination to succour Gibraltar, and concerted with them the best mode to be adopted, and dispositions to be made for transporting thither provisions both by land and sea. Among the persons present was Garci Melendez de Sotomayor, Lord of Bedmar and Xodar, a person undoubtedly of good sense and understanding, but whose prudence on this occasion caused irreparable mischief. In the presence of all he advised the King to reflect well on his proceedings, since he was about to oppose himself to two powerful Kings ; that Abdul Malic having come from Africa to assist the King of Granada, there was no doubt, they would cordially co-operate in the present contest. That neither his Father nor Grandfather had ever combated Moors from Barbary, who were skilful, more numerous, and more warlike than those of Spain. That, not having

with him the whole of his forces, he ought not to risk his person and kingdom on the doubtful chance of a battle solely for the Castle of Gibraltar. Don Alonzo replied that, although it was true, that many of those to whom he had given large sums to raise troops had not joined the army, he trusted to the valour of the renowned Knights who were with him to combat successfully the Kings of Granada and Algeciras, having even forces more numerous; and that he was resolved on relieving Gibraltar.

Many sided in opinion with the King, but the majority having adopted that of Garci Melendez, a delay of eight days took place; when, finally, the King gave orders that all should forthwith provide supplies and provisions for the desired object.

The King acquainted the Admiral, and also the Governor Vasco Perez with the time of his departure from Seville; and in five days arrived with his army on the banks of the Guadarete, near Xerez, whence he again sent despatches to these officers. Here he again took measures for providing supplies for the remainder of the march, and until those by sea should arrive. Two days passed in these preparations, when he received letters from the Admiral, advising that he had no answer to the Despatches he had sent to Vasco Perez, that this officer had left the Castle, which the Moors were no longer

attacking, that he was in the Camp of Abdul Malic, and that he believed the Castle was about to be surrendered. The Admiral was soon enabled to confirm this disastrous intelligence; there was no longer any doubt, the place was in possession of the Moors, for their Colours were seen flying on the walls; and he learned that the Christians were all allowed to depart freely, and that Vasco Perez had passed over to Africa.

Thus ended, in 1333, the Third Siege of this devoted place. During four months and a half it withstood all the efforts of the Moors, and made a most gallant defence; although the conduct of the Governor was, as before noticed, most reprehensible, and not altogether without suspicion as to his loyalty. His proceeding with respect to the provisions was most unpardonable; and while suffering from scarcity, he had the imprudence to retain a large number of Prisoners, the care of whom added to the difficulties of the Besieged. The Port being in the possession of the Moors, the attempts of Josef Tenorio to throw in supplies were for the most part ineffectual. By the aid of machinery, he endeavoured to cast ashore bags of flour, but with little success, and finally, Perez, considering his situation desperate, consented to a surrender, although the Enemy, on getting possession of the Arsenal, found sufficient provisions to have lasted five days longer. Perez, doubt-

ing, with sufficient reason, the approbation of the King, determined on withdrawing himself, and fled with disgrace from the Spanish Dominions.

10. On the receipt by this Monarch of the first intelligence from the Admiral, he immediately held a Council, and declared his determination to proceed to the relief of Gibraltar, although only a single turret should remain in possession of the Christians; and, moreover, that should the place be lost, he would lead thither his army, not doubting that, by the favour of God, he should soon recover it. This resolution met with general approbation; and accordingly, notwithstanding the news of the Surrender presently reached the Royal Quarters, the Army was put in motion, and on the third day passed the Guadarenque in sight of Gibraltar.

On descending the Sierra de Carbonera, a body of 6000 Cavalry, sent by Abdul Malic, hovered around, intending to attack the Rear Guard as it approached. This was foreseen by Don Alonzo, who gave directions accordingly, ordering the Grand Master of Calatrava, Lopez Ruiz de Baeza, and Garci Melendez, who marched on the Flanks, to make a retrograde movement, and skirting the Sierra, to fall suddenly on the Moors and give no quarter. All took place as was foreseen, the necessary movements were effected, and after a severe conflict, in which 1500 Moors were slain, the remainder took to flight, pursued

by the Christians, who, however, in their eagerness, exceeded the orders of the King, and passing the Guadarenque, reached the Banks of the Palmones. Here the Moors, aided by succours sent from Algeciras, again made a stand, when another sanguinary conflict ensued, with much loss to the Christians, being shut in between two Rivers, and at a distance from their main body. Fortunately, at this moment the Admiral arrived off the Palmones; by his assistance the Moors were repulsed, and the Christians, overcome with fatigue, rejoined the Army of the King, who, late at night, established his Head Quarters within sight of the Rock. The succeeding day, Don Alonzo in Council determined at once to lay close Siege to the Castle and Town, for which purpose, he despatched in vessels, Rui Lopez and Fernan Yañez de Meira with some Household Troops to effect a landing on the Red Sands to the Southward of the Town. The disembarkation was made without difficulty, but those first on shore imprudently ascended the Mountain, without waiting for their companions. The Moors observing this, made a sally from the Town, and vigorously attacked those on the Beach; in which skirmish, after severe fighting, both the leaders were killed, the few remaining Troops driven into the Sea, and the retreat of the others cut off.

The King was anxious to send them succour, or to enable them to escape from their perilous

situation; but overruled in Council, they were abandoned to their fate; and in consequence of the want of provisions, as well as the dangerous position of the Army, surrounded on all sides by the Enemy, it was resolved immediately to retire. With the utmost reluctance the King adopted this course, beginning to move the army the following day, but with the greatest precaution. Scarcely had they marched a league when Sanchez de Roxas and some others, observing the dissatisfaction of the King at leaving Christians abandoned on the Mountain, solicited that some troops might return, and endeavour to relieve these unfortunate men from certain slavery; suggesting that if in the meantime supplies by sea should arrive, they might yet recover the Town, and if not, that the following day the whole army might go forward to Alcalá de los Gazules, the nearest place in possession of the Christians.

At this critical juncture appeared in sight the long expected vessels, bringing provisions for the Army; on seeing which the King most joyfully retraced his steps, and again sat down before Gibraltar, having greatly at heart the relief of the Christians left on the Mountain.

The Moors possessed the Port and Arsenal, together with the Castle and Town adjoining it; all beyond was unoccupied; and the handful of King's troops, although deserted by their com-

panions, had been unmolested since their departure. A landing on the Red Sands under some renowned Chiefs was again effected, but with greater precautions. The Moors did not venture to attack, and the Christians lost no time in descending the Rock and rejoining their Standards.

The King determined on effecting this conquest, and fully persuaded that the Moors must quickly surrender for want of provisions, recommenced the Siege with great vigour. He established a Post on the Heights above the Castle, erecting on it the Royal Standard, and also on the Red Sands at the place of his landing. Between these points the communication was easy; and from the upper one the soldiers could, by the help of ropes, let themselves down and join the main body of the forces on the North front.

With powerful military Engines, such as in those days were in use, the King attacked the *Torre de Omenage* and the Arsenal at the Mole; moreover, he directed the Admiral to attempt burning the Vessels there at anchor, on which he commenced a vigorous assault.

The Moors, however, had taken the precaution to place Booms and other impediments across the entrance of the Port, and the attempt failed after considerable loss in killed and wounded, among the latter being the renowned Gonzalo Ruiz and Garcilaso de la Vega.

The Torre del Omenage was the object against

which the machines of the Christians were principally directed. These were constructed in a manner similar to the *Vineæ* of the Romans; they were either built, or made to approach, close to the walls, stones and various missiles being projected from the upper stories, while the Soldiers below were endeavouring to break down or undermine the walls. The Besieged in the meantime sought to destroy the machines, and promised rewards to any who should seriously injure the lower parts; while the King on his side offered, by proclamation, premiums for the stones that should be extracted from the Moorish wall. Under the orders of Alonzo Fernandez Coronel, the Christians rolled the machines to the foot of the Tower, the Moors endeavouring to undermine the ground on which they stood. Here a long and sanguinary contest ensued, in which Alonzo Coronel was wounded, when finally the Moors found means of discharging burning pitch, which set fire to the machines and produced their total destruction.

The King amply rewarded those who had fought so bravely, although as yet unsuccessfully; but other cares now occupied his mind, for a long prevailing East wind prevented the arrival of farther supplies; and provisions could scarcely be obtained at any price. Alarmed at the prospect of want, and tired of the Siege, his followers began to desert in great numbers, notwithstanding

the numerous guards stationed to prevent it. Very many fell into the hands of the Moors, by whom they were carried to Algeciras, and sold as Slaves at the price of a doubloon each. In addition to these misfortunes Don Alonzo received intelligence that the King of Granada had taken the Castle of Benamexi, and had made an irruption, with much loss to the Christians, as far as the City of Cordova. He nevertheless determined to prosecute the Siege, although expecting to be attacked by Abdul Malic, who had written to the King of Granada to come to his assistance.

While these events were passing in the South, the inhabitants of the King's central Dominions were sorely oppressed by the exactions of the nobles. These magnates endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the King of Aragon, but with much loyalty he rejected their overtures; nor in the absence of Don Alonzo would he countenance their complaints. They continued, however, to tyrannize over the people, collecting from them large sums, of which not a fourth part reached the King, who, in the midst of these disasters, learned with great grief the death of his eldest son at Toro in 1333.

Nothing dismayed, however, Don Alonzo pushed forward the Siege, although by the Junction of the forces of the King of Granada with those of Abdul Malic, his own Army was in a critical situation, being entirely surrounded, and

so straitened, that their Foraging Parties were in daily conflict with the Moors. To prevent any sudden attack on his rear, the King ordered a Cut to be made across the Isthmus from the Bay to the Mediterranean, establishing Guards for its protection, that he might the more securely carry on his operations against the Rock. He was most anxious to sally forth and attack the Infidels, trusting to the favour of Providence for success; but was restrained by the advice of his Council, the troops being ordered not to pass the Ditch, while an advanced Post was established beyond to watch the movements of the Enemy. In this state things continued many days, when there came suddenly a Moorish Chief of great renown, Hamod Abu Ali, along the western beach accompanied by three hundred horsemen, apparently to hold a parley with the Christian camp. But ignorant of the existence of the advanced Guard to the Eastward, or not taking the precaution to communicate with it, the Commander suddenly fell upon the Moors, whom he routed with much slaughter, their Chief being killed, and great consternation thereby created throughout the whole of their Encampment.

Notwithstanding the impossibility of receiving succours from without, and the privations endured from the want of provisions, the Moors continued obstinately to defend the Castle, and the Siege dragged slowly along without any impression on

that Fortress being effected. To the Besieged this state of indecision was fatal, for a surrender, although protracted, was unavoidable. Nor was it less irksome to the Christians, for the presence of Don Alonzo was imperiously necessary to protect his dominions in the North from the oppression and rapacity of the Nobles.

At this moment there sallied forth a Moorish Knight from the Camp, proclaiming, as if unpremeditatedly, his wish to settle the contest by single combat with any Christian Chief, desiring to be conveyed to the King, that he might more fully explain himself.

When in the Royal presence, he availed himself of an opportunity to state that he was sent by the King of Granada to intimate his earnest desire to be on terms of friendship with Don Alonzo. To this the King replied, that in a few days he should infallibly be in possession of the Castle, and that there he should be happy to receive the King of Granada.

Don Alonzo, however, deemed it advisable on this occasion to call together his Council, whose sentiments he soon discovered were pacific, and who failed not to set before him the inconvenience and danger attendant on prolonging the Siege: the King in consequence reluctantly consented to proposals for peace; and the Moor on his return to the Christian Camp was graciously received when publicly announcing the desire of the King

of Granada to hold a conference with Don Alonzo.

An officer of rank presently appeared from the Moorish King, when a peace or rather truce was agreed on in the following terms, in which Abdul Malic was united. That it should continue four years—that the King of Granada should pay annually to Don Alonzo the tribute formerly paid—that the Moors should be allowed to draw cattle from Don Alonzo's dominions, paying the customary duties according to a former agreement; these terms were quickly ratified on both sides, and in this manner terminated in 1334 the Fourth Siege of the Rock of Gibraltar, still remaining in the possession of the Infidels. The Kings interchanged visits, and when dining with Don Alonzo the King of Granada presented him, among other splendid gifts, with a sword richly mounted, the scabbard covered with gold and set with numerous precious stones; a helmet or small hat was also added, garnished with gold and precious stones, together with numerous other jewels, and cloth of gold and silk wrought in Granada; Don Alonzo on his part making similar presents to the Moorish King.

11. Abdul Malic now styled himself King of Gibraltar, and retired to Algeciras. Don Alonzo prepared to depart with his Army, when at midnight he learned that the sons of Ozmin, suspecting that the King of Granada in his conference

with Don Alonzo had spoken of them prejudicially, had murdered him on the banks of the Guadiaro. Alarmed at this horrible act, and doubtful as to its consequences, Don Alonzo's Generals endeavoured to persuade him instantly to move forward without waiting till morning, and reach Alcala de los Gazules. But the King, as well for the honour as the safety of his Army, declined taking so hasty a step, or moving till day-light, when he set forward, and by regular marches arrived at Seville. At this place he took measures for carrying into effect the truce agreed on, to which the King of Morocco, Abul-Hacen, was admitted a party; and at whose instigation Don Alonzo forgave to the new King of Granada, Jusef, the payment of the tribute stipulated by his father.

The powerful and ambitious Abul-Hacen, in order to lull to security the Christian King while he subdued the kingdom of Tremecen, sent him ambassadors in token of friendship with the richest gifts of gold, precious stones, cloths of gold and silk, ostriches, elephants, and the rarest productions of Africa; but no sooner were his views attained, than he embarked in 1338, numerous bodies of infantry and cavalry, with supplies of arms and provisions for Gibraltar, although the period of the truce was yet unexpired.

Don Alonzo readily comprehended the hostile intentions of the Moorish King, and foresaw the

storm that was preparing to be discharged on the Christians of Spain, and particularly on himself and those of his dominions. On this occasion he was supported by his nobles, who, putting aside their private quarrels and pretensions, willingly complied with the rigorous measures ordered to be adopted by the King. To him, for security, they surrendered all their castles and strong fortresses; and he, having caused to be put to death Don Juan Alfonso de Haro, received into favour Don Juan Nuñez and Don Juan Manuel. He despatched without delay orders to all his vassals and those of his sons, that they should repair on a certain day to the Frontiers, sending large sums from Madrid for the payment of the troops. He made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada, and established forces in Arcos and Xerez, to restrain Abdul Malic, who was powerful in Algeciras. With this Chief a battle soon after took place near the River Patute; when he, being discomfited and deserted by his followers, attempted by flight to seek shelter in Algeciras; but tired by the way, he was found hidden among some canes, apparently lifeless, and there despatched by a Christian, ignorant whose life he had taken.

12. Abul-Hacen, enraged at these misfortunes, loudly proclaimed revenge against the Christians, and having the good luck to overcome in 1339 the Christian squadron in an engagement, wherein fell the celebrated Admiral Josef Tenorio, he

continued during six months uninterrupted disembarkations both at Gibraltar and Algeciras. Tarifa was at this time in possession of the Christians, and although closely besieged, it long held out, restraining for a time the fury of the Mahometans, the arrogance of whose king induced him to aspire to the entire conquest of Spain; and on its subjugation, to the extirpation of the Christian name throughout the Peninsula. The whole nation became seriously alarmed, calling to mind the antient slavery and oppression to which it had been long subjected; and convinced of the sincerity of the Castillian Monarch, they anticipated his wishes, and readily complied with whatever orders he from time to time issued.

The King took into his pay Genoese Galleys, the King of Portugal sent his to assist, and twelve were furnished by the King of Aragon. The King of Portugal, aware that he was equally interested in the fate of the war, came in person with an army to partake of the dangers with which his brother of Castille was threatened; but with this reinforcement the whole Spanish army did not amount to a twelfth part of that of the enemy, including the immense force brought by Jusef the new King of Granada.

On Sunday, the 27th October, 1340, the two armies came in sight of each other, when a memorable battle was fought on the Banks of

the *Salado*, within half a league of Tarifa :* a combat celebrated in the annals of Spain for the important victory then gained over the Moors ; although, comparing the small number of the Christians who fell with the immense loss of the Mahometans, amounting to 200,000 men, it might rather be denominated a rout than a battle.

The prisoners were innumerable : among them was Abohamar, the son of Abul-Hacen, with many females of the Haram.

His wife Fatima and her two children perished on that fatal day. The survivors passed over to Africa, and for transporting them, fifteen days and a few galleys sufficed, while the bringing the whole Mahometan force to Europe had occupied six months, and required sixty galleys. The defeated Kings immediately quitted the scene of this disaster. Jusef proceeded to Marbella, and Abul-Hacen retired to Gibraltar, whence in a few hours afterwards he embarked for Africa. The wealth that fell into the hands of the conquerors on this occasion was enormous. So great was the quantity of gold and silver, that in Spain, at Avignon, and in the neighbouring countries, the value of these metals fell sixteen per cent.

* Near the spot where almost 500 years afterwards was fought the Battle of Barossa, between the French and English armies.—*Tr.*

Don Alonzo offered a liberal share of the booty to the King of Portugal ; but this Monarch, equally magnanimous, contented himself with a few articles of no great estimation in commemoration of the victory. The Castillian King sent large presents to the Pope at Avignon, including his own Standard and the Horse he rode on the day of battle ; and His Holiness directed *Te Deum* to be sung throughout Christendom, for the success of the Spanish Arms.

13. Algeciras still continued in possession of the Moors ; but Don Alonzo, having embarked in a galley at Tarifa, for the purpose of reconnoitering it, was so convinced of its importance, that in the beginning of August, 1342, he laid close siege to it with a numerous army. The fame of the recent victory having spread through Europe, many renowned knights and commanders were induced to enroll themselves under the banner of Don Alonzo, or assist him in the field with their forces. From Germany there came the Count de Bous, who unfortunately soon fell in a skirmish with the Moors. From Italy many Genoese, who fought with great valour ; from France many celebrated warriors ; and from England, Henry Duke of Lancaster, so often engaged in bloody contests with the French ; together with the Earl of Salisbury and other English noblemen, more valiant than numerous. There came also the celebrated

Gaston de Foix and his brother Roger, with many troops from Gascony ; and lastly, the King of Navarre, Don Felipe, who was received throughout the Castillian dominions with all the honours due to his exalted rank.

In the meantime the Moors defended themselves with great obstinacy, and the Autumnal rains having deluged the country, the besieging army was for many months exposed to the greatest sufferings and privations. Supplies were continually sent to the besieged by Abul-Hacen, and he was preparing to come himself to their assistance. The King of Granada approached frequently with his troops as far as the Guadiaro, and the Moors from Gibraltar were continually engaged in skirmishes, although suffering severe losses. To add to these misfortunes, the want of provisions began to be felt in the Christian camp ; but the example of the King in sharing with the soldier all privations with the greatest fortitude, diffused courage throughout the army. In order to obtain supplies, he had already pledged his golden Crown and other valuables ; and now ordered to be melted in Seville all his household plate, together with that offered by his devoted followers. Fortunately, through the intervention of Don Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, the King of France was induced to send gratuitously 50,000 Florins to assist in the expenses of the war ; the Pope lent 20,000 ; but the whole being

absorbed in paying to the Genoese, the distresses of the army were unabated. By advice of the Council, an Excise was established throughout the kingdom, and until the collections could be made, the inhabitants of the frontiers and those nearest the army were ordered to supply the necessary quantity of sheep and cattle.

Twelve months had already elapsed, and but little progress was made towards the reduction of Algeciras. The Moors receiving continually supplies and assistance from Gibraltar, were enabled obstinately to hold out, and as long as they possessed this advantage, there could be little hope of an early surrender.

The King of Granada with a large army had passed the Guadiaro, and uniting with the forces of Abul-Hacen, advanced as far as the Palmones. Don Alonzo was in possession of the country to the South of that river, and on the land side Algeciras was completely invested; the port, however, was open, and supplies were constantly furnished from the coast of Africa, as well as from Gibraltar. The number of the forces assembled on either side, and the proximity of the two armies, naturally gave rise to frequent skirmishes, sometimes ending in sanguinary conflicts and serious losses to each.

The activity and energy of the King allowed no rest either to the besieged or their allies in Gibraltar; and to prevent farther assistance from that

place, he resolved on burning the fleet at anchor in its port. The Moors on their part were not less vigilant ; and foreseeing such an attempt, and having made necessary preparations, the enterprise was attended with very partial success.

Among the various Chiefs of the numerous armies assembled under the command of Don Alonzo, discontents frequently prevailed. The Genoese were dissatisfied, and inclined to withdraw, and even to pass over to the Moors, on pretext that four months' pay was due to them. This magnanimous King immediately ordered to be melted the last of his plate even from his own table ; and with this, together with the voluntary gifts of the richest of his followers, and by loans from others, accompanied by blandishments and fair words, he was enabled to appease and retain them in his service.

Determined, at length, to prevent, if possible, the introduction of supplies by sea, Don Alonzo resolved on closing the entrance of the port of Algeciras ; and with great labour, by his personal superintendence, and by his exertions, he succeeded in surrounding it by an enclosure made of stakes, palisades, empty casks, and other materials ; galleys being stationed day and night for their protection, against the attacks of the enemy.

This determined measure, while it disheartened the besieged, who saw themselves shut in without hope of succour, induced the combined Kings, Jusef and Abul-Hacen, seriously to think of a sur-

render, being now convinced that after nineteen months hard fighting, incessant toils, and great privations, the perseverance of the Castillian Monarch must be finally crowned with success. Their wishes being made known to Don Alonzo, the conditions for the surrender of Algeciras, and a cessation of hostilities were speedily agreed on, and the King obtained, by the possession of that place, the reward of his extreme toil and unexampled patience and perseverance.

It was stipulated that the garrison should be free, and their property secured to them ; that the truce should last ten years ; that the King of Granada should pay tribute during that period, in 12,000 doubloons annually, and moreover, that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Castille. Two Moors performed on his behalf the customary ceremonies in token of vassalage ; the remaining articles of the treaty were fulfilled, and on Saturday the 27th March, 1344, the banners of Don Alonzo floated on the walls of Algeciras ; and its Mosque, being first purified according to Christian rites, became a Catholic Church, dedicated to Santa Maria de la Palma, it being Palm Sunday when the ceremony was performed.

Thus ended a siege of nineteen months and twenty-three days ; celebrated for its duration ; for the renown of the chiefs that were present ; for the sanguinary contests to which it gave rise ; for the efforts of two powerful Moorish Kings to raise

it ; for the use of gunpowder, it being on this occasion that its explosion was first heard in strife ; for the excise law established to provide means for its continuance ; and still more celebrated for the valour and perseverance of the Christian King, Don Alonzo, and his loyal subjects.

14. But the anxious desire of this Prince to secure his dominions from future danger, coupled with his military ardour, made it impossible that he should see with complacency the Stronghold of Gibraltar, in possession of the Infidels ; affording at all times the means of pouring in their hosts from Africa, to disturb the Christians, if not to subjugate them to their power.

We find, therefore, that in the summer of 1349, Don Alonzo was again before the town and castle, which now for the fifth time was to undergo the operations of a siege. The moment seemed favourable ; for the Kings of Granada and Gibraltar, Jusef and Abul-Hacen, were no longer in alliance ; the former was making war against the possessions of the latter in Spain, while he was engaged in recovering from his son the kingdom of Fez, in Africa.

The Moorish force, therefore, that could now be opposed to Don Alonzo, gave him but little uneasiness, and led him to expect an easy conquest, had he possessed means adequate to the undertaking. In the late war he had exhausted the whole of his resources ; and although well

convinced of the loyalty of his subjects, and their willingness to co-operate in recovering Gibraltar, he was aware of the futility of any attempts to obtain from them further loans, contributions, or gifts. After mature deliberation, therefore, he adopted the resolution, in order to free himself from his pecuniary difficulties, to alienate part of his dominions to obtain means for subduing the Rock, which, while in the hands of the Moors, was a perpetual source of anxiety to the nation. Consequently, on the 10th January, 1350, he sold to Don Alvar Perez de Guzman,* Lord of Niebla, for 130,000 maravedies, the villages of Villa Alba and Palma, being within the district of Niebla, with all the rights, jurisdiction, and sovereignty he possessed therein. With the means thus obtained, he was vigorously prosecuting the siege of Gibraltar, with the best hopes of success, when the plague that for two years had been a horrible scourge to England, France, Italy, and other countries, at length reached Spain, and extended itself to the besieging army under Don Alonzo. The son of the King of Aragon, and the nobles that were with the army, strongly urged the King to raise the siege, and not to risk his life in such imminent danger, nor expose his companions in arms to the horrors of a pestilence. To representations of this sort he would not listen, nor would

* Appendix No. II.

he allow them to be repeated, declaring that as the enemy was so straitened that he must soon surrender, it would be a disgrace to the Christians to shrink from so important a conquest, merely from the fear of death. It pleased Providence, however, otherwise to dispose events; the King was attacked; his disease presently exhibited all the characteristics of the plague, and on the 26th March, 1350, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, death terminated his glorious career. The whole army felt intensely the loss they and the nation had sustained, and immediately took the oath of fidelity to the Infante Don Pedro, as King of Castille and Leon.

The funeral of Don Alonzo was conducted with great pomp and magnificence; the body was first deposited at Seville, and afterwards conveyed to Cordova, where, as ordered by the King when living, it was consigned to the tomb that contained the ashes of his father. Although the operations of the Siege were suspended, the Moors took no advantage of this melancholy event; but while respecting the heroic virtues of the Christian King, they could not avoid contemplating his death with satisfaction; for according to an historian of Granada,—“ Little was wanting for Don Alonzo to become master of the entire Peninsula, for Gibraltar was about to surrender when the Almighty in his wisdom was pleased to cause the death of that

Prince, in favour of the Mahometans, then almost annihilated."

With the premature death of Don Alonzo terminated the Siege of Gibraltar; for his successor Don Pedro was too much occupied in arranging the disordered state of his wide spreading dominions to find leisure for extending them by conquest.

15. In the meantime Gibraltar was held by Abul-Hacen and his son, having for governor in 1356, Isa Ebu Alhasan; and we find in 1362, the Castillian King (Abul-Hacen being dead) assisting his son Abraham to possess himself of La Gomera, Ceuta, Tangier, and Arzilla. Don Pedro died in 1369, when the Count of Trastamara took possession of the throne with the title of Henry II. But the King of Granada, although on friendly terms with Don Pedro, refused the truce offered to be renewed by his successor, and penetrating with a powerful army into the Christian territory, he took possession of, and utterly ruined the City of Algeciras, which we have just seen had, by great valour and perseverance, been conquered by Don Alonzo.

In the following year, 1370, a truce, however, between the Kings of Castille and Granada was again accomplished, and continued without interruption through a long series of years, during which time the South of Spain was perpetually

harassed by the contentions between the Spanish and African Moors, in some of which Christian Chiefs were often found participating. For in 1408, after some severe fighting, in which the Mahometans had been discomfited, the Christians under Don Pedro Ponce and Pedro Lopez de Ayala made an incursion into the Moorish territories of Estipona, Gibraltar, and Caceres, putting to the sword many of the enemy, and carrying off immense booty in cattle, sheep, and horses.

At this time, 1411, Gibraltar was in the possession of the Kings of Granada, when a sudden insurrection placed it in the hands of Abu Said, the King of Morocco.

Jusef, who in 1408 had succeeded to the throne of Granada, immediately invested it, and had the good fortune in a short time again to recover this important fortress, which for many subsequent years still remained under the dominion of Granada.

16. At length Don Henry de Guzman, Count of Niebla, sensible of the common danger, and daily aggrieved by injuries and losses inflicted by the Moors on his private estates and Tunny Fisheries, stimulated also by the glory of recovering so renowned a place, conquered originally by the illustrious founder of the house of Niebla, determined in 1436 to besiege it with a powerful army both by sea and land. He was quickly joined by many noble Knights from Cordova,

Ecija, Xerez, and other parts of Andalusia, equally inspired with the desire of recovering Gibraltar from the hands of the Infidels. Some equipped vessels, and others brought numerous forces to operate by land, when a simultaneous and desperate assault was to be made on all sides. The Moors having had timely notice, had strengthened themselves by troops from Africa and Granada, but allowed the Christians quietly to disembark, trusting to their incautious valour to obtain over them an easy victory. Soon the conflict began, but after long fighting the Christians were overpowered, and were retiring to their vessels, when, to complete their misfortunes, the Count, whose bravery was unexampled, returning to assist some of his immediate dependants, was drowned by the upsetting of the small galley in which he hastily had embarked for that purpose. This unhappy event put an end to the Seventh Siege of Gibraltar; the Christian vessels retired from the Rock, and the army retreated in good order. The son of Henry, Don Juan, sought to recover the dead body of his father, offering large sums to the Moors, accompanied by the most earnest entreaties. To these they were inexorable, and nothing could persuade them to a compliance; the body was placed in a coffin, and suspended, as a warning to the Christians, from one of the turrets over the gate of the Barcina; where it remained until the same Don Juan at a later period cap-



tured Gibraltar, when it was removed with solemnity and corresponding rites to a Chapel in the Calahorra within the Castle.

17. Notwithstanding the failure of this attempt, hostilities incessantly continued. In 1453 died the Castillian King, Don Juan II., and his successor, Henry IV., in three successive years overran the plains of Granada, devastating and destroying the vineyards, gardens, and plantations, hoping by such means to deprive the Moors of the small portion of Empire that yet remained to them in Spain. After various truces, war was again declared, which finally placed, in 1462, Gibraltar in the hands of the Christians. The proceedings are circumstantially related by Alonzo Hernandez del Portillo, a native of Algeciras, well versed in Spanish annals, and who lived so soon after the period of the capture, as to have possessed the most accurate information relating to it. From him we learn that the surrender took place on Friday, the 20th August, 1462, San Bernardo's day, which Saint became the Patron of Gibraltar, and whose anniversary has been always celebrated accordingly.

Portillo relates that a renegade Moor, escaping from the Rock, fled to Tarifa, and there made known to the Alcalde, Alonso de Arcos, so circumstantially and in detail, the dispositions within the garrison and its then weak state; that he, well aware that the success and consequent re-

noun of military exploits depended greatly on celerity, determined without a moment's delay to attempt an assault. He instantly assembled his forces, and leaving sufficient for the defence of Tarifa, he sailed the same night with 120 foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, and safely reached Gibraltar. Landing unobserved, he disposed his small force in the manner recommended by Ali el Curro, the renegade Mahometan, and at day-light in the morning captured three of the guards, whose duty it was to keep watch on the mountain. From these by means of torture he gained important information, being told that all the chief men of the city were gone to Granada and Malaga, to welcome a King that was coming to them by permission of King Henry; that only one man of rank remained, and that the City was altogether defenceless. On learning this state of things, the Alcalde wrote instantly to all the towns in the neighbourhood, to Xerez, Medina, and the people of the Frontiers, to the Count of Arcos, Don Juan Ponce de Leon, and Don Juan de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia; inviting them to hasten to Gibraltar, not to fight for it, but to witness its surrender.

On the first appearance of succour the Alcalde resolved to attack the Castle without waiting for a force that might have insured success. Being repulsed by the Moors, discontent manifested itself, and the strongest remonstrances of Alonzo,

aided by the persuasion of Curro, could scarcely prevent an immediate retreat.

This was fortunately rendered unnecessary, for a deserter from the Castle made known the alarm of the Moors, the losses they had sustained in the attack, and the general inclination that prevailed to surrender. To this end an officer presently appeared in the Christian camp, offering to surrender the Castle on certain conditions; but he was told that, as the besiegers were separate and independent Chiefs, they could not accede to any propositions without consulting a higher authority.

At this time arrived Don Rodrigo Ponce, Son of the Count of Arcos, already acquainted with the recent occurrences: to him, after much discussion with his companions in arms, was surrendered the Town, and which joyful intelligence he hastened to communicate by letter to the King.

The arrival of Don Rodrigo was speedily followed by that of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; and then commenced those violent dissensions between these powerful noblemen, that for a long series of years disturbed their domestic tranquillity, and finally led to the most deadly feuds between their Houses.

Each aspired to the honour of receiving the Surrender of the Castle, the Count of Arcos claiming it of right, the Town having been delivered to his Son before his arrival; while the

Duke rested his claim on the services of his ancestors in besieging the Fortress on a former occasion, when his father lost his life in the attack ; and more especially on the disposition of the Moors, which he well knew was in his favour.

Both noblemen had, doubtless, ulterior views; each looking to the possession of Gibraltar as an appendage to his estates ; although, the honour of the capture unquestionably belonged to the Alcalde of Tarifa, Alonso de Arcos. The great services rendered to the nation by the proceedings of that active officer were not overlooked by the King, who, many years afterwards, rewarded him with the Chief Magistracy of Seville ; and from this hero descended many a renowned warrior whose exploits are celebrated in our History. He died in 1477, and was buried in the Vaults of the Carthusian Monastery at Seville ; on his Sepulchre was engraved the following Inscription :

“ Here lies interred the much honoured Alonso de Arcos, Alcalde of Tarifa, who recovered Gibraltar from the Enemies of our Holy Faith. He departed this life in the year 1477, having been a great Benefactor to this Holy House.”

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, most probably, foresaw the doubtfulness of his remaining permanently Master of Gibraltar, although then in his possession ; and King Henry lost no time in announcing to the Nation, in whom this Conquest had created the greatest delight, his intention of annexing it to the Royal Dominions.

The Duke appeared at first inclined to resist ; but seeing the determination of the King, who had appointed an Alcalde, and summoned the frontier Towns of Andalusia to his aid, he wisely determined on a voluntary surrender, rather than risk a contest with his Sovereign.

Gibraltar was thus, in 1462, once more in the hands of the Christians, from whose Dominion, although still for many years an object of strife and contention, it is never again to be separated. The first care of the King on taking possession of this important Fortress, was to provide a sufficient permanent population on the Rock and in the District belonging to it, whose interest it would be to repel any incursion of the Moors from Africa. From those of Granada little danger was to be apprehended, for the tottering condition of that Monarchy, long distracted by intestine dissensions, already indicated its speedy fall, and the consequent termination of Moorish authority in the Kingdom of Spain.

18. To facilitate the desired object, the King annexed to Gibraltar, by his Royal Letters Patent,* the District of Algeciras, which, the Town being in ruins, was unequal to its own protection as a separate command. The Royal Order was directed to all the authorities in the Kingdom, and especially to the Cities of Xerez and Tarifa, whose confines adjoined those of Algeciras and

* Appendix No. III.

Gibraltar. The annexation was declared in the most ample terms, with authority to Pedro de Porras, the Alcalde of Gibraltar, as well to enforce the observance of the decree, as to cause restitution to be made when any aggression should be committed. All persons not disposed to obey were cited to appear at the Royal Court within fifteen days, to shew cause in their justification.

Pedro Porras commissioned his Cousin Gonzalo Gutierrez formally to make known the Royal Order to the City of Xerez, and to intimate the duty of a compliance. This took place on the 3rd of February, 1463, when the Corregidor in the name of the City replied, that they yielded to the Royal Order, but they could not in justice comply with it, having been obtained, they said, by a concealment of the truth, which, if known to the King, would have prevented his issuing such an Edict. Notwithstanding this opposition, however, on the part of the people of Xerez, those of Gibraltar remained in possession of the District of Algeciras, while the others contented themselves with such undefined portions as they happened to possess.

19. Henry IV. anxious to see the place, the conquest of which had so ennobled his Kingdom, left Seville for Gibraltar in 1463; at which time the King of Portugal, Don Alonzo, happening to be at Ceuta, was invited over by the Castillian King, and was received with the most distin-

guished marks of friendship. The two Kings remained together eight days, engaged in the sports of the field; although opportunity was found, through the intervention of the private Secretary, Baltran de la Cueva, to discuss matters of State, which were developed at a future day. Don Henrique yet remained a few days after the departure of the Portuguese King, and during this time, he removed Pedro de Porras, giving the office of Alcalde to Bertran de la Cueva, who enjoyed his entire favour and protection, and who, by order of the King, gave the Lieutenancy to his cousin Estevan de Villacreces, against which appointment loud complaints were made by the Duke of Medina.

At this period, in 1465, anarchy of the most disastrous kind pervaded the Kingdom of Spain, and the Infante Don Alonzo, then only eleven years of age, was made the tool of a party, who by intrigues and treasons, had gotten possession of his person.

20. From this Prince, having assumed the Kingly office, the Duke of Medina obtained a document, whereby Gibraltar, with its castle, fortifications, boundaries, and jurisdictions, with all the rights and privileges appertaining to it, was bestowed on him, his son Don Henry, and their successors for ever.

The Duke had, beforehand, laid claim to this possession, the right to which he still maintained ;

and now, with this act of gift from the Infante, he determined to enforce his claim by recourse to arms, for which purpose he levied forces, and Gibraltar was for the ninth time subjected to the horrors of a siege.

The Lieutenant Governor Villacreces, at perfect ease with respect to danger from the Moors, with whom the recent truce was still existing, finding, unexpectedly, an armed force before the rock, and becoming acquainted with their designs, immediately prepared for a vigorous defence; writing to the King, and to his own brother-in-law, informing them of the commencement of hostilities, and of the siege preparing by the Duke.

Henry, unable to send the necessary succours, contented himself with writing to the inhabitants of the district, desiring them to assist the Alcalde in the defence of the Fortress; and this officer, seeing himself left to his own resources, and receiving but little increase to his garrison from the neighbourhood, resolved on abandoning the Town, and shutting himself up in the Castle until assistance might arrive. The Town was presently occupied by the forces of the Duke, whose son, Henry de Guzman, brought to his assistance in February, 1467, strong reinforcements in men, arms, and implements of war. During ten months, numerous desperate attacks were made, and repelled with valour by the besieged, when,

finally, having breached the walls in many places, the assailants entered the Castle by storm.

Nothing dismayed by this success of the enemy, Villacreces retired to the inner Forts and Citadel, where, unaided by assistance from the King, he continued many months to defend himself with heroic valour against the continued assaults of the besiegers. At length, however, the Alcalde, having lost many men, being in want of provisions, and seeing no chance of succours arriving, surrendered himself, with his wife and children, to the enemy, at the end of June, 1467.

The first care of the Duke of Medina, Don Juan Alonzo, on taking possession of the Castle, was to remove the body of his father, that had remained suspended over the gate of the Barcina. It was conducted to a Chapel, in the Calahorra, and with solemnity placed in a double coffin; the Chapel was decorated for the performance of the requisite ceremonies, and provision was made for an annual celebration of the Mass for the soul of the deceased.

The Duke, still availing himself of the assumed authority of the Infante, obtained from him among other things, a royal order, granting a new Coat of Arms to the Medina family, with this Motto:—

*“ Utriusque freti claves tenet domus maxima de
Guzman, &c.”*

Estevan de Villacreces was long kept a prisoner in continual dread of losing his life, having been

by the Duke publicly proclaimed a traitor, and stigmatised by every opprobrious epithet.

At this period, when anarchy and confusion every where prevailed in Spain, and continual acts of violence were openly committed by powerful noblemen and their retainers; the death of the Infante, Don Alonzo, took place on the 5th June, 1468, after three years enjoying the title of King.

On this event the turbulencies that existed in Castille, assumed a more favourable aspect, and the first Duke of Medina (the third Count of Niebla), having died in the same year, his son, Don Henrique, desirous of an opportunity of establishing tranquillity in his large possessions, was content to receive Gibraltar as a gift from the legitimate authority of King Henry.

On the 3rd June, 1469, the King issued a Royal Decree,* granting Gibraltar as a gift to this second Duke of Medina, in consideration as set forth, of the great services rendered by his family; his grandfather having lost his life in an attempt to recover it from the Infidels, undertaken at his own expense; and his father having finally succeeded in wresting from their hands this important place, which he subsequently peopled, fortified, and garrisoned. The Duke and his heirs are declared to hold by right and for ever, Gibraltar, with its castle, fortifications, boundaries, terri-

* Appendix No. IV.

tories and possessions ; also with all rights and duties appertaining to the Seigniorship of the said City, to enable him to make payment to the Alcalde and other officers of the sums as established in the royal ordinances ; providing, however, that such Seigniorial duties should cease to be collected, whenever the Moors should be finally overcome. Permission of alienation was granted on certain conditions, but the *Sovereign Seigniorial rights* were expressly reserved.

The turbulencies in Castille still unhappily continued, but away from these disquietudes, and aware of the importance of the acquisition he had obtained, the Duke devoted his whole attention to the means of preserving it. He invited persons, the better to defend it, to come and settle within its district, as well as on the Rock ; allotting lands to all according to their means and the number of each family. He appointed a separate Alcalde for the Castle, and established military regulations for the defence of the whole. Moreover, in addition to the privilege already granted, he obtained from Henry, farther to contribute to the aggrandisement of Gibraltar, his consent for extending to it the privileges of Antequera,* which the King conceded by Letters Patent the 20th December, 1470 ; and we learn from ancient documents that these privileges (*Fuero de Antequera*) consisted in

* Appendix No. V.

the entire and absolute exemption from all duties and imposts of whatsoever kind, to which, as a farther inducement to settlers (being far removed from Christian dominions, and contiguous to Africa and Granada, and being always liable to capture) was added the privilege of an asylum to persons escaping from justice.

21. While the Duke was thus making every effort to establish a permanent Government for the protection of Gibraltar, corresponding to its peculiar situation, the death of Henry IV. took place on the 13th September, 1474. He was succeeded by Ferdinand and Isabella, who, equally aware of the services of the House of Medina, issued a Royal Order, absolving the Duke from the necessity of rendering any account of the sums collected, as authorised, in the districts of Seville and Cadiz, for the payment of the officers in Gibraltar.

By Letters Patent, also dated the 30th September, 1478, they conferred upon him the hereditary title of Marquess of Gibraltar, in consideration of his own personal merits, and *of the high, important, and continued services of his ancestors*. To this was added by these powerful Sovereigns, the more valuable favour of the confirmation by Letters Patent, the 17th September, 1478, of the ample donation of the city, district, pasture lands, and all other appurtenances of Algeciras.

Notwithstanding these acts of grace and bene-



volence, Isabella entertained an ardent desire to recover the city of Gibraltar, and unite it to the crown of Castille. The Duke of Medina had assisted in person in the war that finally put an end to the power of the Moors in Spain, by the conquest of Granada, having taken care to provide amply for the safety of Gibraltar during his absence, and for preventing the introduction of supplies from Africa, for the succour of that kingdom. Isabella offered in exchange the Town of Utrera, but to this the Duke would not listen; insisting on retaining Gibraltar, being contiguous to his other possessions, having there a large Tunny Fishery, and being of the greatest importance to him in preventing the disembarkations of the Moors, and the captivity to which his people would be otherwise continually exposed.

As, however, in a few years from this period the transfer to the Crown actually took place, the occasion is opportune for noticing a dispute that about this time arose between the Duke of Medina, holding the city of Gibraltar and the town of Ximena, on the one part, and the towns of Gaucin and Casares on the other. A commission was appointed by Ferdinand and Isabella, to determine the respective limits, whence we learn with precision, the extent and boundaries of the district comprehended under the name of the *City of Gibraltar*. The decision of the commissions bears date the 25th of August, 1491, and subsequently

on the 28th October, in the same year, a separate arrangement of demarcation was made with the town of Caçares, equally satisfactory to both parties. The decision is as follows,* declaring the boundaries to run—" From the Little Mosque, on the " banks of the Guadiaro, following the course of " that river till the Narrows, and from thence to the " Barn for cattle ; this being part of the territory " of Ximena : from thence to the high land above " the meadow, belonging to Juan da Costa : thence " to the high land adjoining the Watch Tower, " *del Burro*, there being another land-mark on " the ridge, rising in the midst of the low ground, " and proceeding along the eminence from the " above-mentioned Watch Tower, to a deserted " shed of wild olive trees, proceeding onwards on " the high land, until its termination ; from there to " some rocks which stand on the declivity of the " high grounds towards the Guadiaro ; and here, " crossing the river at the narrow pass, leaving " Xuxina on the left ; from hence to a deserted " shed with many wild olives, to the right of the " said shed ; and from here proceeding over the " rocky ground as far as a cliff which rises on it, " and thence following a ridge and meeting another " shed of wild olive trees, and following a winding " of the river, on the right of the said shed, before " the rivulet of the *Bad Passes*, the two large

* See the original Spanish, with its peculiar phraseology. Appendix No. VI.

“ meadows being on the left, one of which is called
“ *The Calabazas*; and following the course of the
“ river until the junction of the Hosgargante and
“ Guadiaro, and from there to the high land of the
“ Hediondos; and thence to another eminence;
“ and from there to the Shed of Hornets, the said
“ shed forming part of the territory of Gibraltar,
“ and from there to the road leading to Castellar
“ and Marbella; and keeping to the ridge as far
“ as the tower *Chullera*, the same being part of
“ the territory of Gibraltar; all of the above de-
“ marcation to the left of the place of beginning,
“ shall belong to Gaucin and Casares, and all on
“ the right of it to Ximena and Gibraltar.”

Land-marks were also ordered to be established under the penalties, for not complying according to the laws of Toledo; and that to Ximena and Gibraltar, there should be restored the boundaries that had been withheld from them.

On the 25th of August, 1492, died Don Henrique, Duke of Medina, in his town of San Lucar, soon after the conquest of Granada, at which he had greatly assisted. His son, Don Juan, the third Duke and second Marquess of Gibraltar, immediately communicated the event to Ferdinand and Isabella; intimating, that he had entered on possession of his paternal estates, and adding, as was customary, that in consideration of the services rendered by the House of Medina Sidonia, their highnesses might be pleased to

confirm all the grants and privileges the Kings their ancestors had thought proper to confer upon it.

Isabella, wishing to avail herself of this opportunity to recover what she so much desired, assured him that the whole should be confirmed to him on his giving up Gibraltar.

Enraged at this answer, Don Juan refused the surrender; setting forth with vehemence, that his estates were not held by gifts from any Kings; but that part had been purchased from the Crown, when necessity compelled it to alienate, part from different noblemen, and, that the remainder was possessed by legitimate and incontestible hereditary right.

Such was, at that time, the unsettled state of the Spanish Monarchy, that no notice was taken of this peremptory refusal; and Gibraltar during thirty-four subsequent years remained in the possession of the family of Medina, being highly serviceable to the Crown, in facilitating the embarkation of the expeditions for the conquest of Melilla in 1497, and other settlements on the coast of Africa.

At length, however, after mature reflection on the part of the Spanish Monarchs, by whom the importance of possessing Gibraltar was fully appreciated, an annexation to the Crown was finally determined on; recourse being had for its resumption to the *Sovereign Seigniorial Right* re-

served in the grant from King Henry IV., and which they resolved now to enforce.

On the 22nd December, 1501, therefore, a Royal Decree was issued at Toledo, in virtue of which, Garcilaso de la Vega, a gentleman of the Palace, Knight of Castille, and Alcalde of Vera and its dependencies, was ordered to take possession of Gibraltar in the King's name. On reaching the fortress, in the early part of January, 1502, Garcilaso made known the object of his mission to all the authorities (excepting the Alcalde who refused to attend,) assembled in the Orange Courtyard in front of the principal Church. The royal document was read aloud, ordering the immediate surrender to their Majesties of the city, fortress, and district of Gibraltar, together, with all the archives and emblems of justice and authority. The ceremony, accompanied by shouts of "long live the King," was performed with due solemnity; the wands of office were presented to Garcilaso, and he immediately proceeded to take possession of the castle. The keys of all the towers, forts, and gates were there surrendered, together with the stores, arms, and ammunition, and all other articles, not omitting the coffin of Duke Henry, of all which a formal inventory was made* by the Public Notary of the city.

* Appendix No. VII.

Garcilaso assembled the Town Council and authorities without delay, and nominated Diego Lopez de Haro to be his lieutenant, who, accordingly, was installed Alcalde of the castle, and received the insignia of his office. All officers were confirmed in their several employments, and no change was made in the prudent system of Government established by the late possessor. Garcilaso, however, took the precaution to obtain from the council an acknowledgment that the City and Church had been surrendered to their Highnesses; and that Gibraltar, together with all its civil, criminal, and military jurisdiction, was adjudged to belong, and was united to the Royal Crown of Castille, as one of its appendages. All these acts being duly recorded and testified by the Secretary of the Council, Miguel de Andujar.

The city, delighted at being so tranquilly reunited to the Crown, and aspiring to the honours due to a place so highly esteemed by royalty, supplicated their Majesties shortly afterwards, that there might be granted to them a Coat of Arms for their Seal, Standards, and the customary uses. The application was graciously received, and Arms assigned, which, in consideration of Gibraltar being a fortress, and deemed the key of the Spanish dominions, were to be designated by a castle with a golden key pendant, as directed in the Royal Letters Patent, the inscription thereon

being—*Seal of the noble City of Gibraltar, the Key of Spain.*

Nor was this the only favour granted; their Majesties confirmed the privileges conceded by Henry the Fourth. They ordered the principal Church, which had formerly been a Mosque, to be remodelled and rebuilt; the North side was extended, and the royal arms engraved thereon; they directed also, a large and elevated tower to be constructed, wherein were to be placed the bells and clock; and, for defraying the expense of these buildings, they gave, as a perpetual allowance, one half of the portion belonging to them of the tithes of the city. The principal Chapel, a splendid work, was, however, alone completed, for the funds intended for the whole building were disposed of in decorating the altar, in ornaments, and other expenses.

To assist in restoring Gibraltar, and placing it in a perfect state of defence, Ferdinand ordered to be sent there all the criminals of the kingdom of Granada under sentence of transportation.

In 1503 was added to the jurisdiction of its *Corregidor*, those of Ronda and Marbella; Luis Vanegas being appointed to that office, in which he remained until 1505, and which was held separately from that of the principal *Alcalde*.

The death of Isabella took place in the subsequent year, and the following clause in her Will strongly evinces the feeling she entertained with

respect to the perpetual annexation of Gibraltar to the royal Crown :

“ It is my will and desire, inasmuch as the City of Gibraltar has been surrendered by Don Henry de Guzman, has been restored to the royal Crown, and been inserted among its titles, that it shall for ever so remain ; I ask and require of the Kings, my successors, that they may hold and retain the said City for themselves, and in their own possession ; and that no alienation of it, nor any part of it, nor of its jurisdiction, civil or criminal, shall ever be made from the Crown of Castille.”

After the decease of this Queen, commotions again arose throughout Spain. New dissensions broke out among the nobles, aspiring to recover the power and authority suppressed, or restrained, during the lifetime of Isabella ; but of which they considered themselves unjustly deprived.

On the demise of his royal consort, Ferdinand, in conjunction with the States of Castille, of which she had been the Sovereign Queen, hastened to invite Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and his Queen, to come and take possession of that kingdom, to which they had become heirs. On their arrival, Ferdinand left Spain, to settle the recent conquest of Naples, distrusting the renowned Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova.

22. Unhappily the Death of Philip took place

the same year, 1506, when Castille began seriously to feel the effect of the revolutions with which it had been threatened since the Death of Isabella. Among the most turbulent of the nobles was Don Juan de Guzman, who, feeling himself aggrieved at being dispossessed, as already mentioned, of Gibraltar (solemnly conferred on his ancestors by Henry IV. for services rendered to the Crown by his family) determined on reasserting his claim to this valuable possession, trusting to the favour of Philip to obtain its restitution.—Although the death of this King put an end to this expectation, he still urged his claim; and believing that he had many partizans in the Fortress, he finally invested the Rock in 1506, continuing to blockade rather than to besiege it for many months.

Finding, however, there was little disposition to surrender, and listening to the advice of the Archbishop of Seville and others of rank, he not only retired with his Forces, but made ample reparation to all those within the district whose property they had injured or invaded.

23. In 1506 died Ferdinand King of Aragon, after a prosperous reign in conjunction with his Queen Isabella. He was succeeded by his Grandson Charles V., then in Germany, who, aware of the Revolutionary disturbances with which Spain was at that period afflicted, lost no time in securing so important a place as Gib-

raltar. From Wormes he despatched Rodrigo Bazan as Corregidor and Alcalde, with ample powers for its Government, and orders to provide all things necessary for its protection.* Under this monarch, whose reign is justly celebrated as most important to the grandeur and tranquillity of Spain, the arms of that country received the addition of the Columns of Hercules, with the Inscription *Plus ultra*, the new world being already discovered, in contradistinction to the former motto of *Non plus Ultra*, no longer corresponding to the already wide spreading Dominions under the power of Spain.

Gibraltar, under the Government of Bazan, enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, although its distance from the centre of authority caused the neglect of the necessary measures to insure its permanent safety. In 1528 the monastery of San Francisco was restored and rebuilt; and in March 1531 Francisco de Madrid, Secretary of the Town Council, presented to the occupants a large plot of ground for erecting a new Church, a spacious Cloister, with ground in front of the Church, and 70,000 maravedies in money; together with a considerable quantity of Stone already prepared for building; the Religious occupiers binding themselves to erect a Chapel and Burial Place for their benefactor and his

* Appendix No. VIII.

descendants. The Monastery was completed magnificently, and was one of the most sumptuous religious houses of the Bishoprick of Cadiz: It was occupied by men of great piety and exemplary virtue; Hernandez del Portillo well knew and has extolled in his writings the Friars Bernardino, Diego de Guzman, and Buenaventura, as also Friar Raphael, an Englishman of most innocent life and conversation.

Since the overthrow of the Moors of Granada, and their final expulsion, Spain had been relieved from all calamities arising from foreign foes. Peace had long continued with the Powers in Barbary. And as the Mahometans in that Country, the descendants of the Saracens of the East, were yet enlightened and tolerant, the utmost harmony prevailed between them and the Christians of Spain. Not only did these continually engage with them in traffic, but many, chiefly from Gibraltar and its immediate vicinity, passed over and settled in Africa. There, they cultivated lands with great success, possessed farms well stored with produce, as well as numerous herds of cattle; and the writers of those days assure us that the Spaniards lived in Barbary with as much security as in their own Country.

This agreeable state of things contributed, however, but little to the permanent security of Gibraltar. In 1535 the Alcalde Rodrigo Bazan

was succeeded by another of that name; but being young and inefficient, his office was performed by Deputy; and before he was of an age to execute personally the duties, great neglect had occurred in all that related to the defence of the place. The Town was exposed to any sudden attack, the wall particularly on the South side being greatly dilapidated: few artillery were mounted, and the number of troops and military stores less than had been assigned to it. The Alcalde, together with the Cabildo, made earnest application to Charles, praying that Gibraltar might be put in a better state of defence, it being unable to withstand the attack of an enemy, however feeble. Plans for building walls and Fortifications were suggested, but without effect; the long continuance of peace had lulled the Government into too great belief of security, and the City was shortly to experience the evil consequences of neglect, and to suffer the misfortunes recounted in the following Chapter.



CHAPTER III.



WE have already at considerable length related the numerous and important events that, until the middle of the Sixteenth Century, befel the City of Gibraltar; than which no country, no capital, had ever from its foundation experienced more frequently the scourge of war, nor been subjected to so many and such variety of masters.

Its contiguity to Africa invited the first incursion of the Saracens, and, as if for the observance of an immutable law, their successors for many ages followed in the same course, overwhelming this unhappy spot with all the miseries of renewed conquests. The Viceroy of the Califat, the rebels of Africa, the Kings of Cordova, Seville, Fez, and Granada, and all other adventurers aspiring to dominion in Spain, became in turn the masters of this small but devoted portion of Spanish territory; and as between these Mahometan barbarians fresh discords continually

arose, renewed misfortunes, disorders, and violences became the lot of Gibraltar on every change of possessor.

From the first arrival of Tarik in 710 Gibraltar was a perpetual object of contention between the powerful Moorish Chiefs in Spain, even until the Eleventh Century. At that period it was held by the Kings of Seville. After severe contests it was possessed by the Benimerines, from whom it passed into the hands of the Kings of Granada. Although wrested from these in 1309, by Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, it again fell under the yoke of the Benimerines ; having after a long and obstinate Siege surrendered to Abdul Malic, who then styled himself King of Gibraltar. To recover it from the Mahometans, Don Alonzo, 11th King of Castille, was twice under its walls, having, as we have seen, sacrificed his life on the last occasion in his heroic endeavours to become its master. The Kings of Fez continued long to hold the Rock, until wrested from them by those of Granada ; and when again coming into the hands of the Christians, by the valour of the unfortunate second Count of Niebla, Don Henry de Guzman, it was only to become the object of civil dissensions and sanguinary contests between two powerful houses of Castille, by one of whom it was twice subjected to the horrors of a Siege.

Such was the unhappy lot of this place, as recorded in history during many ages. And although

on the extinction of Mahometan power in Spain, the kingdom was relieved from the miseries of war, Gibraltar still continued the scene of misfortune; and even in our days are to be renewed its former sufferings.

Plundered by a sudden irruption of Turkish Pirates, bombarded by the French, conquered by the English and their allies; then twice besieged by the Spaniards, its original masters, we have finally to see the town reduced to ashes by an armament of an extent unheard of in former times, with a train of artillery unparalleled since the first invention of these implements of destruction.

64. Not long preceding the period to which our history has conducted us, the renowned Hayradin Barbarossa, with his numerous piratical galleys, rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and in conjunction with a host of turbulent and unprincipled adventurers, who for the sake of plunder were content to acknowledge him their leader, he became the scourge of this inland sea, and the terror of its surrounding shores.

The peculiar situation of Gibraltar, almost detached from the main land, and the means of commanding the navigation of the Mediterranean the possession of it seemed to afford, had not escaped the observation of this adventurous Chieftain; at first the Commander of the Turkish squadrons, afterwards King of Algiers. Listening with attention to the accounts of Christian renegadoes

and of Moorish prisoners escaped from the Rock, of which they had acquired a perfect knowledge during a long captivity, and the defenceless state of which they strongly insisted on; the conquest appeared to him of easy accomplishment. If, owing to its great strength, the Castle could not be gained, the Town with all beyond, together with the whole of the neighbouring district, now fertile and populous, were at the mercy of any invaders, offering great booty, and the prospect of large ransoms for the unhappy captives who might fall into their hands.

These sentiments, long entertained by Barbarossa, were not unknown to his followers, who shortly after attempted what he had meditated, and which if undertaken by him would probably have been attended with a more successful issue.

The name and reputation of Don Alvaro Bazan, which had so long kept in awe the Turkish squadrons, no longer troubled them at this time; for in 1537, after reiterated supplications to the Emperor, he was relieved from his command, and succeeded by Don Bernandino de Mendoza. And in this situation of affairs, stimulated by a desire to possess the plunder, promised by runaway slaves and renegadoes from Gibraltar, aware likewise of the absence in Sicily of the Spanish galleys under Mendoza, also that the Emperor was in Flanders, and the Spaniards without the least suspicion of danger; Azenaga, the Viceroy of Algiers, deter-

mined to seize the favourable moment and attack the fortress. He, however, first communicated his intention to Barbarossa, who sanctioned the armament, appointing a daring and experienced leader Dali-Hamat to the command of the galleys, and Caramani, to that of the troops to be embarked for the undertaking.

A squadron of sixteen vessels of all descriptions was speedily equipped, but at the cost of 25,000 ducats, to be defrayed from the expected plunder, of which the commander Azenaga was to have one-fifth share. Captains of skill and valour were selected, and among them were some who had been captives and slaves to the Christians, or were renegade deserters from the Rock. The vessels were manned by 1000 Christian slaves at the oars, accompanied by 2000 of the Infidels destined for the service on shore, and this formidable equipment weighing anchor at Algiers the 24th August, 1540, quietly directed its course to Gibraltar secure from molestation by the absence from the Coast of all the Spanish galleys.

If not so well authenticated, it would scarcely be credited, that notwithstanding the misfortunes to which Gibraltar had been continually subjected while in the hands of the Christians, ascribable in a great degree to its defenceless state, no effectual means had been adopted to secure it against assault.

The Castle was strong by its position alone, but

the wall of the town below (the Barcina) was neglected, and the remainder of the Rock, unfortified and unprotected, was open at all times to the approach of an enemy. Added to this was the unpardonable incredulity of the authorities as to the arrival of the Turks, although timely notice had reached them that an armament destined against Gibraltar was already on the sea. The absence of all preparation for meeting this horde of Freebooters was in consequence the result.

Confident of success they moved slowly on, not reaching the Rock until the beginning of September, when without opposition they landed at the Southern extremity, and commenced the depredations always attendant on the disembarkation of the Infidels. The hermitage of the 'Virgen de Europa,' contiguous, was the first object of plunder; the district of the Turba offered little to detain them, and Caramani, with a large body in advance, immediately marched towards the Castle, while the remainder occupied themselves in breaking down the walls and forcing the gates of the Barcina.

Consternation and alarm pervaded all classes of the inhabitants, and as no system of defence had been arranged, nor even thought of, each exerted himself in the best manner he could for the protection of his family and property. The valour and resolution of some of the principal inhabitants of the Barcina were soon roused, and

although with the sacrifice of many valuable lives, they struggled successfully with the Turks, who having obtained entrance, were over-running the town in search of plunder and captives.

In the meantime the alarm spread through the neighbourhood, and at length those of the district flocked to the scene of action and assisted in arresting the progress of the Infidels. The Castle, although vigorously assaulted, held out, but with considerable loss of life to the Christians, and at every point was conspicuous the defenceless state of the fortifications and their utter incompetence successfully to repel an attack.

At length the Turks, finding the resistance greater than they had anticipated, began to retire to their vessels at the South, but not until laden with plunder, and carrying with them numerous captives, followed by the cries and lamentations of their relations, who saw them torn from their homes by the Barbarians, without the means of preventing it. With these they embarked, but not to return to Africa until committing farther outrages on the peaceful inhabitants of Gibraltar. From the South, they passed along the front of the Rock, offering mockery and insult as they proceeded, and again disembarked at the Puente Mayorca (orange grove). There devastation accompanied them at every step; they burned the houses, killed the cattle, destroyed the vineyards, and murdered all those who attempted to oppose

them. Finally, seeing the population assembling in arms, and that assistance was arriving from the neighbouring towns, they again embarked, laden with booty, and it remained only for the Christians to ransom the captives, if means could be found to satisfy the demands of the Barbarians. Alvaro de Piña was despatched with a flag of truce, and to him they proposed giving up Franciso de Mendoza, the only person of rank in their possession, for 1000 ducats, and all the others for 6000 ducats; on condition, however, that the Turkish slaves in Gibraltar should be surrendered, the prisoners taken in this affair restored, and that their galleys should be allowed to water at the wells near to Gibraltar.

After a protracted discussion as to the mode of payment, it was finally agreed that the Turks should receive as ransom, 4600 ducats, half in merchandize, and half in money; but as it was difficult to make up among so many sufferers the precise sum to be paid by each, and 800 ducats only could be collected, application for the remainder was made to the Marquess of Tarifa, who without hesitation, generously volunteered the loan. The Turks, considering the delay incident to these arrangements unnecessarily long, began to apprehend a premeditated protraction to give time for the arrival of the Spanish galleys. Carrying with them, therefore, their plunder and captives, they set sail on the night of the 12th Sep-

tember, having lost in the affair seventy men, and caused the death of twenty to the Christians. Two days afterwards arrived the money from Tarifa, when a vessel was immediately dispatched with it, to overtake the enemy. Not meeting with them, the commander proceeded to Ceuta, whence letters were sent to the king of Fez, to Velez de la Gomera and other places near to Gibraltar, requesting that the captives might be redeemed on such terms as were practicable.

65. Although a severe chastisement had thus been inflicted on this unhappy city, for the neglected state into which it had been permitted to fall, the actors of this daring outrage did not themselves escape punishment. The news of their irruption spread quickly along the coast, and fortunately reached the ears of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who with his fleet was in the harbour of Carthage. The Turks having left the captives at Velez de la Gomera for a price agreed on, proceeded towards the Island of Arbolan, and were presently met by Mendoza, who had sailed in search of them. A desperate conflict ensued, requiring the greatest skill and bravery on the part of the Christians to resist the enemy's force, which was double that of Mendoza's. Fortunately for the Spaniards they were enabled to overcome the vessels in which were Caramani and the Admiral Dali-Hamat; on seeing which the remainder of the Turkish galleys hastily took to flight. Cara-

mani was killed, and Hamat remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians, together with 437 Turks. On the part of the Spaniards, the loss amounted to 130, but the result of this action enabled them to liberate from the Turkish galleys 837 Christian slaves.

66. This disastrous event, with its afflicting consequences to Gibraltar and the vicinity, seem at length to have roused the Government from its torpor, and determined it, although late, to adopt effectual measures for the future protection of the Rock, against at least the sudden irruptions of the Infidels.

In 1543, Don Alvaro Bazan was again in command of the Spanish galleys; but as at that period the Turks were desperately striving for the superiority at sea, whereby they might continue their depredations on the surrounding coasts, the Admiral, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Gibraltar, made strong representations to the Emperor, earnestly soliciting that the place might be put in a state of security. A commencement was made in consequence; some dilapidated works were repaired; the Land Port Gate was rebuilt; a ditch was dug, and the battery at that place constructed. Nine years afterwards, in 1552, the celebrated Milanese engineer, Juan Bautista Calvi, was directed, for a defence on the South side, to run two walls at the South Port Gate, from the West upwards, to the Easternmost point, and

which still retain the name of Charles V. Walls. The construction of two others was in contemplation, by the aid of which, an attack on the South side might easily have been defeated; but as numerous other plans of fortification were submitted, and much diversity of opinion prevailed, nothing was effected beyond the construction of the upper and lower walls above-mentioned.

67. In 1556, took place the abdication of the Emperor Charles V., who retiring from the cares of Government, left the charge of a powerful and extended empire to his son Philip II. This monarch, engaged in a desperate struggle with the Low Countries, had but little leisure to attend to the situation of the South of Spain, or to the dangers to which it was yet exposed from the turbulence of the Moors. The plundering expeditions of these Infidels were still continued, and the safety of Gibraltar was in 1569 and 1570, when a revolutionary insurrection took place in Granada, more to be ascribed to the loyalty and exertions of individuals, than to any care or foresight of the Government for its protection. The population, however, having considerably increased, its attention was directed to the necessity of a supply of water for the town, and in 1571, was constructed an aqueduct leading from the Red Sands to the City; but owing to bad formation or to neglect, it fell to decay in a few years, and became dry and useless. Four years

subsequently, Philip sent an able engineer, named Fratino, to examine the fortifications, and to make such additions as he might think necessary. Fratino condemned the work of Juan Bautista Calvi, ordered to be removed the second wall erected by him, but made some additions towards the Signal House of the upper part of the first. He caused to be constructed fresh traverses, the Bastion of Santa Cruz* to be raised, as also that at South Port, called “del Rosario,” being contiguous to the Chapel of that name. A third Bastion† was erected to the Northward, in constructing which works, a part of the intervening curtain was removed. In this curtain was a Gate of Moorish architecture, of great antiquity, called the Algeciras Gate; solidly built, and adorned with rich arabesque workmanship, among which was conspicuous the ‘Key,’ a sure proof of the sentiments of the Africans, as to the importance of the Mountain and City of Gibraltar.

68. In 1581 commenced the establishment of the Convent of the Mercenarios Calzados, under certain conditions and stipulations, as agreed on between the inhabitants and the Bishop of Cadiz, Don Garcia de Haro. The Hermitage or Chapel of Santa Ana was fixed on as the foundation of the house, and the neighbouring buildings were

* Jumpus Battery.

† King’s Bastion.—Tr.

afterwards purchased for erecting the cloisters and the Church; many years elapsed before the final completion, to which Father Juan Bernal, the most celebrated preacher of those days in Spain, mainly contributed.

Six years afterwards was begun the Franciscan Monastery of Santa Clara, by Doña Maria, and Doña Isabel de Espinosa, ladies possessing considerable wealth, but resolved on disposing of their patrimony in founding a religious establishment. On making the requisite endowment, for which they gave up the houses wherein they lived, in the principal street, together with 12000 ducats, they stipulated that in perpetuity, two of their family should have permission to enter as nuns, without stipend; that their aunt, a nun in the Convent of Santa Clara, at Seville, should prescribe the habit, and that she should become the Lady Abbess, bringing with her those nuns she might choose to select.

The City was highly gratified with the Establishment, which began in 1587, when the two ladies first took possession, with their aunt, accompanied by three other nuns; soon after which the number of Holy inmates increased to more than sixty.

69. About the same period, a rich individual, Juan Mateos, native of Gibraltar, laid the foundation of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, principally for the relief of Sick Seamen. He

caused it to be endowed with his whole capital, and, for thirty-four years, devoted his time and personal services in support of this charitable institution. In 1591, however, it was by agreement with the Bishop of Cadiz, converted into a religious establishment under the above name, and conducted by pious persons in the habit of that order. The Founder, who also assumed the habit, continued unremittingly, until his death in 1594, his assistance in aid of the sick poor, for whose relief the Hospital was originally intended, and where more than 400 patients were annually admitted.

70. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, to which our history now leads us, the City of Gibraltar enjoyed a longer tranquillity than at any former period, notwithstanding the frequent appearance in the Straits of Turkish and Moorish galleys, and the depredations committed on all the surrounding coasts.

The Mahometans, who survived the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, or their descendants, were yet numerous in Spain, and, although Gibraltar was, at length, placed in a better state of defence, the inhabitants were under continued apprehensions of an attack by the Africans, supported by the Infidels, but pretended Christians, yet remaining among them.

Followers of the Prophet, they still secretly indulged in his doctrines ; and the Catholic Clergy

devoutly attached to the religion of Christ, could ill brook the appearance in every part of the kingdom of these Infidels, amounting, probably, to a million of souls, active and intelligent, exercising great skill and industry, by which they would, infallibly, become in a few years predominant, possibly, to the overwhelming of Christianity in the whole Peninsula. After numerous representations from the higher orders of Clergy, supported by remonstrances from Rome, and assisted by the entreaties of the wife of Philip III., who had succeeded his father in 1598 ; and, in spite of many just observations, shewing the loss the country would sustain by the departure of so valuable a population, by whose exertions alone, commerce and agriculture at that time flourished ; it was finally determined, to expel from Spain the whole of the surviving Moors and their descendants. Every port in the kingdom witnessed the reluctant departure of this immense host, quitting for ever their native soil, to seek an asylum in a foreign land ; and, in 1610, after a lapse of 900 years from the first arrival of Tarik and his followers, was to be seen at Gibraltar the expulsion of their descendants, conducted to Africa by the Spanish Admiral, Don Juan de Mendoza.

71. Succeeding years still witnessed the frequent appearance of the Turkish Corsairs, by which the Mediterranean was infested, spreading

alarm and consternation along its fertile shores ; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Spanish naval forces, the district of Gibraltar was too often the scene of the insults and depredations of these Infidel pirates. The great losses sustained by the inhabitants, and the captivity to which they were continually exposed, were so loudly proclaimed throughout the nation, that the Ministers of Philip III. were at length resolved to provide, if possible, a permanent remedy against these inroads of the Mahometans. As the navy alone was insufficient, it was determined to erect Watch Towers along the whole extent of coast from the Easternmost point of the Kingdom of Granada to the borders of the Portuguese territory, comprising an extent of sixty-three leagues. In proper situations, and at regular distances from each other, forty-four towers were erected, from which could easily be seen the light of the fires made by the guards during the night, or the smoke in the day-time, to announce the approach of the enemy, and call to arms at the shortest notice all the inhabitants of the coasts.

Then also were repaired the *Torre del Puerto*, at the Southern extremity of the Western front, and, at the North, the Old Mole and Fort for the protection of the shipping at the anchoring ground. Other works were constructed, or repaired ; and Gibraltar having at this period greatly increased in population and wealth, more

attention appears to have been bestowed on the fortifications.

72. There being too much cause to apprehend a war between Spain and England, on the final rupture of the project of a marriage between the sister of Philip IV. and the English Prince Charles, the Spanish Monarch determined on a tour of inspection through his Southern provinces ; and, in the severe Winter of 1624, he left the pleasures of the court to endure great privations during a long journey over almost impassable roads. On the last day of February 1624 he reached Seville, where he remained ten days, magnificently entertained by the Duke of Medina Sidonia at his country palace near that city. From Seville he proceeded to Cadiz and Gibraltar, which was with difficulty reached, on account of the severity of the weather and the want of a well-defined road. On arriving at the Rock, the Governor, accompanied by the town council and civil authorities, went out to meet the King ; but, when attempting to enter the place in his carriage, it was found impossible to pass the narrow and tortuous way by which the entrance was to be effected. It was found necessary to take the carriage to pieces, and the King entered the garrison on foot.

The nobleman immediately attending his Majesty complained in harsh terms to the Governor, telling him that, as he was aware of the arrival of

the King at Gibraltar, he ought to have caused the entrance to be widened to admit his carriage; to which was answered, with much complacency, “ That the entrance was not made *that carriages might come in*, but was so constructed *that the enemy might be kept out*.” The King remained but a short time in Gibraltar, giving directions for improving the Mole and the fortifications, and then proceeded to Malaga and Granada, whence he returned to Madrid.

Shortly after this period war was declared between Spain and England, and, as expeditions were fitting out in that country, measures were taken to secure the defences of Gibraltar, in case of attack. The discomfiture, however, of the English near Cadiz removed all apprehensions, and for some years Gibraltar remained undisturbed by foreign enemies, although the war continued with unabated fury.

73. The unhappy Rock seemed, nevertheless, destined to undergo severe afflictions, for, in 1649, an epidemic disease, having committed great ravages at Cadiz and Seville, causing the ruin of these opulent cities, finally reached Gibraltar. All those attacked by it fell victims, and, as no human skill could arrest its progress, recourse was had to the Hermitage of San Roque, to which processions and peregrinations were successfully made.

It was observed, that none died who retired to

that eminence, although attacked by the disease; whence arose the greatest devotion to that holy shrine, inducing the population of Gibraltar, in subsequent years, on the termination of the devotional procession to the Chapel of "Europa," to proceed to San Roque, and celebrate the anniversary with much solemnity.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the extensive district of Gibraltar continued to flourish, its productions, chiefly in wines and cattle, increasing with the population; its numerous valleys were better adapted for pasture than tillage, and corn was often imported for consumption; on the other hand, its hills produced fine wines in great abundance, which were held in estimation in Italy, France, and England.

It is remarkable, that the olive was not cultivated in an equal proportion, although the vast quantity of wild olive trees, of which frequent mention is made, as we have seen in the settlement of its boundaries, indicates a soil well adapted to so valuable a production in this fertile district. The want of a sufficient supply of oil and corn caused to be made by the local government of Gibraltar, (according to Portillo,) the regulation that, for every load of fish taken from its shores, in which they greatly abounded, one of oil or corn should be carried in exchange.

Under the fostering care of Philip IV. Gibraltar enjoyed considerable prosperity; the New

Mole was completed under his directions, and other works undertaken for its security. Numerous wealthy and respectable families settled there, and many of its sons became renowned both in arts and arms. But soon after the accession of Louis ~~XVI~~^{XV}, Spain, under Charles II., was unhappily involved in a war in 1689 with that ambitious monarch, whose good fortune gave his fleet, under Marshal Tourville, a complete victory in 1693 over the combined forces of England and Holland, at that time in alliance with Spain. Having attacked Admiral Rook, who, with twenty sail of the line, was convoying a Smyrna fleet of 400 vessels to the Levant, the French were enabled to capture two ships of war, with twenty-seven merchantmen, burning, sinking, or driving on shore more than seventy others. The vessels that fortunately escaped, sought shelter in Portuguese and Spanish ports, or in the Bay of Gibraltar, pursued by the enemy, under the Marquess of Coetlagon, against whom the batteries opened with some success for the protection of the allies. This was immediately followed by a violent bombardment on the part of the French commander, to the great consternation of the inhabitants; and the Nuns of Santa Clara, in alarm, made a grand procession from their Convent to the Shrine of "Our Lady of Europa," where they remained in great terror nine days, while the bombardment lasted.

Meanwhile, the French, as is asserted by their writers, burned in the Bay four vessels richly laden with merchandize, and captured thirteen others.

74. Not long after this event took place the War of the Succession, brought on by the want of a direct heir to the Spanish Monarch, Charles II., coupled with a desire of the ambitious Potentates of Europe to share the extensive possessions of the Spanish Crown. Charles II. died in November, 1700, and his last will, by which the Duke of Anjou, calling himself Philip V., was made heir to all his estates, being disputed by the Emperor, pretensions arose on all sides to separate portions of the Spanish dominions. Then was formed, in support of the claim of the Archduke Charles, the celebrated triple alliance, between England, Holland, and the Emperor, followed by a sanguinary war that desolated Europe.

To this alliance the English Queen, Anne, cordially acceded after the death of William III., and her reign is noted for the capture of Gibraltar and its separation from the Spanish monarchy.

The war had already continued two years, when, in 1704, Portugal and Savoy having joined the league, the combined squadrons of England and Holland, under the Admirals Rook and Alemundo, having on board 9000 men under Prince George of Armstadt, passed into the Medi-

terranean. Equally repulsed at Barcelona as they had been on the Coasts of Andalusia, they returned to the Straits, and, aware of the defenceless state of Gibraltar, determined to attempt its capture. On the 1st of August this formidable Expedition appeared in the Bay, at the bottom of which, near Punta Mala, 3000 or 4000 men were landed without delay, creating alarm and consternation throughout the district.

75. The Governor of Gibraltar at that period was Don Diego de Salinas, and the principal Alcalde, Don Cayo Antonio Prieto, and the garrison for its defence could scarcely muster eighty well appointed men. The City Council, aware at once of the desperate situation in which they were placed, lost no time in exerting themselves to prepare against the attack. The Governor got together as many countrymen and Militia as were in the immediate vicinity of the Rock, the whole not exceeding 470 men. These were dispersed in various directions, and placed in the positions thought best adapted to repel the enemy; although General Salinas, seeing the vast superiority of the force opposed to him, was well aware of the impossibility of making any successful resistance.

A few shells, in order to intimidate, were thrown into the City, but, confident in its surrender to the Archduke Charles, a letter from him was sent in, enclosed in one from Prince George.

A meeting of the Town Council immediately took place, when the letter, as follows, was publicly read :—" The King—To my City of Gibraltar:—Being fully informed of the services which
" with great zeal you have always rendered to my
" August House, and not doubting the continu-
" ance of them, I think proper to inform you, that
" Admiral Rook, commanding the maritime forces
" of His Britannic Majesty, when passing into the
" Mediterranean on other Expeditions for my
" Royal Service, will deliver to you these my
" Royal Letters, and acquaint you with my in-
" tention speedily to leave this kingdom, and pass
" into and take possession of my own, which, by
" just right and title, belongs to me since the death
" of His Majesty Don Carlos II., my Sovereign
" King and uncle (who now rests in glory); fully
" trusting, inasmuch as you have always shewn
" your fidelity to my August House, that so soon
" as you shall see these my Royal Letters, you
" will proceed to proclaim me, causing the same to
" be done at all places adjoining, under your juris-
" diction, by the name of Charles III., by which
" title my Royal Father caused me to be pro-
" claimed at his Imperial Court, and under which
" I am acknowledged in all my European Domi-
" nions as the legitimate and rightful King of
" Spain: assuring you, and pledging my Royal
" word, that on so doing there shall be preserved
" to you all your exemptions, immunities, and
" privileges, in the same manner as they were kept

“ and preserved by his deceased Majesty Charles
“ the Second, my Sovereign Lord and uncle ; be-
“ stowing upon you and all my beloved Spaniards
“ the favour and benevolence you have always
“ experienced from the clemency and benignity of
“ the Kings, my predecessors. If, on the contrary,
“ you should act otherwise, which I cannot believe
“ of subjects so faithful to their legitimate Lord
“ and King, it will be necessary for my High
“ Allies to adopt such severities as war brings
“ along with it, although with great grief I must
“ see those whom I love as children suffer as if
“ they were my greatest enemies. The said Ad-
“ miral Rook is instructed that, on quitting your
“ Port, he may leave with you, if you desire it, as
“ many men as you may think necessary for your
“ assistance.

“ Given at Lisbon, 5th May, 1704.

“ I, the King.

“ By order of the King, Henry de Bongeï.”

The letter from Prince George, dated 1st August, set forth, — “ That, before proceeding to
“ the extremity of warfare, he took occasion to
“ express a hope that the City would be governed
“ by a sense of justice and its true interests ;
“ that the Cause in which he was engaged was
“ alone sufficient to create a desire to be em-
“ ployed in it, and that he hoped, on sight of the
“ Royal Letter, they would obey the commands

“ of His Majesty King Charles, as might be expected from so noble and loyal a City.” An answer, he added, was expected without delay.

Little deliberation was necessary for the City in preparing an answer either to the Archduke or Prince George of Armstadt. A short and energetic letter was dictated, which may be viewed as an example of the purest fidelity, and was immediately despatched to the Prince. Without engaging in discussion, they stated in a few words,— “ That, in having taken an oath of fidelity to Don Felipe V., as their natural Lord and King, they would, as faithful and loyal subjects, sacrifice their lives in the defence of the City and its inhabitants ; and that consequently no reply to the contents of the letter enclosed was necessary.”

On the first appearance of the enemy, information was sent to the Captain General of the Province, the Marquess of Villadarias, acquainting him with the defenceless state of the Rock, with the landing of troops at Punta Mala, and their advance to the walls of the garrison ; communicating at the same time the letters received from Prince George, and the determination of the inhabitants to die in the service of the Sovereign to whom they had sworn allegiance, and for the defence of the country.

Two days were thus allowed to pass by Prince George and the Admiral, who hourly expected that, at the sight of their overwhelming forces, the City would be surrendered to the Archduke. In this

hope, and to avoid unnecessary hostility, the Prince again wrote,—“That, although the answer from the City little accorded with the mildness it was his wish to exercise towards it, there was yet time to accede to the proposition already made; but that, if in half an hour the place was not surrendered to their legitimate Lord and King, Charles III., it would be instantly subjected to all the rigour its resistance would naturally deserve.”

76. The reply to this letter not being more favourable, and the enemy convinced that it was in vain to expect the garrison to surrender, placed their fleet in line of battle, consisting of thirty ships and some bomb vessels; and on the 4th August, 1704, at 5 o'clock in the morning, commenced an incessant and most horrible fire, which lasted six hours, during which time thirty thousand balls were thrown into the town, according to the account given by Padre Juan Romero de Figueroa, curate of the Church of St. Mary. The consternation of the inhabitants was only equalled by the danger to which they were exposed. The nuns, the women and children, and those useless for the defence of the place, sallied forth in extreme terror, and took refuge in the sanctuary of the Virgin de Europa. Both the Moles were attacked with vigour, and, although the New Mole was defended with great valour, 100 sailors landed from their boats and possessed themselves of the fort contiguous. The greater force, however, was

directed against the Old Mole; and Don Bartolome Castaño, its commandant, seeing that resistance was vain, resolved to abandon it; giving orders to blow up Fort Leandro, that protected it: and this was so well accomplished, that seven of the enemy's launches were destroyed, and 300 troops, including many officers, were either killed or wounded by the explosion. The defenceless crowd that had fled to Europa now began to return to the City, apprehensive of being intercepted, and of having their retreat cut off. On their way back they were exposed to the fire of the enemy, more appalling than disastrous; but the dreadful alarm that everywhere prevailed, the cries of the people, the destruction produced by the enemy's shot, the impossibility of holding out much longer, the great loss of life that already had occurred, and the horrors attending on a capture by assault, determined the Governor and his officers to treat for a surrender. A flag of truce was consequently displayed, and the enemy sent officers to explain the terms on which the places should be given up.

The Governor informed the Town Council* of the fatal necessity there was for a surrender, and, having held a Council of War, it was at once agreed by all, that a capitulation as honourable as could be obtained should be immediately

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agreed on, and an intimation thereof be sent to the King. The capitulation † was speedily settled, consisting of the following six articles, and Gibraltar was forthwith taken possession of by the enemy :—

Art. I. The officers and soldiers shall be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage ; and the soldiers may take what they can carry with them ; the officers, the magistrates, and gentlemen are allowed to take their horses ; and for those without baggage, who choose to depart by water, vessels shall be provided.

II. Three pieces of brass cannon of different sizes may be taken away, together with twelve rounds of powder and ball for each.

III. A supply of bread, meat, and wine, for six days' march shall be furnished.

IV. The trunks containing the baggage of the officers, magistrates, and gentlemen shall not be examined. The garrison shall march out within three days ; the effects that cannot in that time be removed shall remain in the place, to be sent for when convenient, and no obstruction shall be given to the carts carrying them.

V. To the inhabitants, soldiers, and officers, who may choose to remain in Gibraltar, shall be conceded the same privileges they had in the time of Charles II., the religion and all the tri-

† Appendix No. X.

bunals shall remain intact and without alteration, it being understood the oath of fidelity to H. M. Charles III., as legitimate Lord and King, is to be taken.

VI. All the magazines of powder and of implements of war are to be pointed out, all useless arms, and all the provisions that exist in the City. From this capitulation the French, and all subjects of H. C. Majesty, are excluded. They shall remain prisoners of war, and all their property be at the disposal of the conquerors.

These articles were signed,—George, Landgrave of Hesse.

78. Such was the capitulation dictated by the Prince; and the conditions were less severe than might have been expected, considering the immense force of the enemy. The Imperial Standard was without delay raised on the wall, and the Archduke Charles proclaimed King of Spain and owner of the City.

The English, however, violently resisted, and, hoisting their own standard, they proclaimed Queen Anne, in whose name they declared they took possession of Gibraltar, and which was confirmed by the subsequent treaty of London, surrendering to England, together with this place, both Ceuta and Minorca.

Nevertheless, the Prince of Hesse remained as Governor, with some troops, and 1800 English sailors, who committed a thousand excesses in

this ruined City. They profaned all the churches except the principal one, which was zealously defended by the curate Padre Juan Romero. But the greatest disorders were committed at the hermitage of "Our Lady of Europa;" they treated the Holy Image with derision, and cut off the head of the infant she held in her arms. But, notwithstanding this act of these irreligious conquerors, the image was preserved, and the head, having been found, was by a pious female placed for security in the altar of the principal church, and finally restored to its former position.

Many females experienced insults and outrages, whence arose numerous sanguinary acts of vengeance on the part of the inhabitants, who murdered the perpetrators, and threw their bodies into wells or sewers.

79. In this deplorable state of things, the unfortunate citizens who, having defended themselves with valour and obtained an honourable capitulation, might have remained unmolested in Gibraltar, embraced a resolution of which history affords few examples; faithful to their oaths and to their Sovereign, to whom they had sworn allegiance, they determined on quitting for ever the place of their birth, rather than submit to foreign dominion. In consequence, the members of the Cabildo; the clergy, with the inmates of the religious houses; the nobility, and almost the whole of the population, guided by this noble principle of fidelity,

retired from Gibraltar, abandoning to the conquerors their comforts, their houses, their possessions, and their country, for the maintenance of the oath they had sworn.

As soon as the surrender was in appearance inevitable, the Town Council and authorities had written to Philip V., pointing out their alarming situation, the smallness of the garrison and superiority of the enemy; stating at the same time the zeal and devotion of the inhabitants, the Governor, and the Alcalde, and expressing a hope that the King might be able to alleviate their misfortunes. Subsequently they acquainted His Majesty,* that, on this trying occasion and in regard for him, they had exhibited themselves faithful at the expense of their fortunes and the loss of many valuable lives. “We,” they added, “who have unfortunately survived should, had we shared their fate, have died gloriously, and without experiencing the regret we now feel at seeing your Majesty despoiled of so loyal a City, now about to be abandoned by us; for, as faithful and loyal subjects, we are resolved never to live under any dominion but that of your Catholic Majesty, in whose defence we shall willingly pass the remainder of our days.”

A very few men and only one woman, it appears, remained behind. All other persons greatly ter-

* Appendix IX.

rified and overwhelmed with grief took leave of their homes, never again to return to them; equally unacquainted with the course they were to pursue as with the destiny that awaited them. Many perished from hunger and fatigue, others reached Tarifa, Medina Sidonia, Ronda, and the neighbouring towns to live in poverty and obscurity. Of the authorities a large portion remained, keeping with them the Archives, in the vicinity of Gibraltar and San Roque; at which place was a Chapel dedicated to the Saint of that name. Among these officers were many persons of great distinction, for at that time Gibraltar possessed many noble and wealthy families; of whom were the Villegas, the Bohorques, the Guzmans, the Benitez. Among them also was that of Solis, Lord of 'Las Navas,' whose owner at that time generously offered his possessions to the King, and particularly the timber on his estates, if required for a blockade or the service of the Arsenals. His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept the offer; and this noble descendant of Gibraltar believed he could not better employ his immense property than in the service of his country.

Among the miseries endured on this occasion by the antient inhabitants of the Rock, was that of beholding the sad spectacle, melancholy to all true Christians, of the necessary removal of the Nuns, more than seventy in number, from the Convent of Santa Clara. Amidst a thousand

fears and anxieties they left their holy dwelling ; and dispersed through the country, unaccustomed to violent exertion, and fatigued by a severe journey over bad roads, they finally reached the town of Ximena, four leagues distant, where they were received into the Convent of the Ricoletos in the suburbs, from which the Holy Friars retired temporarily to accommodate the unhappy fugitives. Arrangements were made by the superiors of their order for their admission into other Convents. Seventeen were established in that of Santa Isabella, at Ronda ; twelve in Santa Clara, at Seville ; eight in Santa Iñez, of that city ; nine in the Madre de Dios, at Xerez ; six in Santa Clara, of Ossuna ; four in Moron ; three in Marchena ; four in Antequera ; and two in Santa Clara of Carmona ; and only a few years ago the last of these religious ladies died in the Town of Ronda.

80. Among the few persons who remained in Gibraltar, was the Curate of the Church of Saint Mary, a native of the place, and a man of sound judgment and true piety. Overcome at first by the loss of his country, he determined to imitate the example of others, and seek an asylum elsewhere. “ So great was the confusion,” says he, “ that no one knew on what to determine, or “ where to go ; and I, in as great tribulation as “ the rest, was already equipped to depart, when “ I recollected my duty as Curate of the Church,

“ and, as such, that I ought first to protect what-
 “ ever belonged to the Holy Sacraments, the place
 “ being in the hands of those of a different reli-
 “ gion. Great is the difference between acting in
 “ quiet and peaceable times, and in those of trouble
 “ and alarm ; in proof of which I need only men-
 “ tion, that discoursing a few months previously,
 “ with my brethren and the higher authorities, I
 “ asked, how the plate and other valuables, for the
 “ service of the Altar, were to be disposed of, in
 “ the event of a successful attack at any time on
 “ the place? Although the supposition was treated
 “ with ridicule, it was replied, that in such case
 “ the elder brethren would assemble and direct
 “ accordingly ; but when the time came, there
 “ were neither elder nor younger brethren with
 “ whom to consult, each being occupied in pro-
 “ tecting his property, or in preparing to depart.”

And this good shepherd, considering it his duty
 not to desert his flock in their imminent danger,
 under English dominion, remained to afford them
 spiritual comfort, and to protect his Church.
 Very soon were all others perverted to profane
 uses, but the estimation in which the Curate was
 held induced the enemy to respect that of Saint
 Mary. From him, who, to dispel his grief, occu-
 pied himself in composing elegiac Latin verses, to
 recount the event of the capture, we learn that
 the English entirely sacked the Temple of the
 “ *Virgen de Europa*,” at the South, and that in

the town they destroyed the goods, and even the houses of those who had fled. Nevertheless, he candidly acknowledges, that as long as the war continued he was provided with rations for his maintenance ; sometimes indeed small, and that he occasionally suffered much from hunger.

Tranquillity being restored, and the Prince of Hesse, with 1800 English sailors, and two battalions of Dutch troops to form a garrison, being installed as Governor, the combined fleet left the Bay, to water on the coast of Africa. Shortly afterwards took place the famous naval engagement off Malaga, which, notwithstanding the boasting of the English, was glorious for the arms of France and Spain. The utility to the English of the conquest of Gibraltar was already apparent, for Admiral Rook was enabled to refit his ships in the Bay ; after which, leaving on shore 2000 sailors, with the necessary supply of provisions, he sailed to the Westward.

81. His Catholic Majesty, fully aware of the importance of this possession, determined to attempt immediately its recovery, although obliged to withdraw his forces from Portugal and other places. The undertaking was intrusted to the Marquess of Villadarias, and success was fully anticipated, as well from the force of 9000 Spaniards and 3000 French, to be employed in the Siege, as that the enemy had not yet had sufficient time to fortify the place.

Gibraltar, now in the hands of the English, was for the twelfth time to undergo a siege. Numerous Spanish generals of renown hastened to the scene of action. The Count of Tolosa landed twenty pieces of artillery, with the necessary ammunition, and appointed eight vessels, under the command of Commodore Pointè, to assist at the Siege, and many of the inhabitants returned to lend their aid, in the hope of recovering their lost possessions.

The English Garrison consisted of about 3000 men, including many vagabonds from the provinces, and deserters from the Spanish army. The Governor caused some redoubts to be constructed ; the elevation overlooking Land Port to be crowned with twenty pieces of cannon, and a tower to be fortified that commanded the Spanish camp ; the inundation was formed as at present to narrow the approach to the Garrison, and from Portugal he demanded 1500 men. On the part of the besiegers, the first arrangements were badly concerted. They began their attack near a windmill that then existed on the Western beach, about 400 toises from the place, and on the 26th October, 1704, having advanced their lines under the direction of the commanding Engineer, Don Bernardo Eligazarai, a battery with some guns and four mortars was established. The fire from the Rock was incessant, and the horse on which the Marquess of Villadarias rode was killed by a shell. The ap-

proaches were mined, and a bomb-vessel anchored near the Old Mole, which greatly incommoded the besiegers, and occasioned them severe loss ; but this during the night was attacked and burned by some boats, under a French officer, Gabaret, as well as some vessels with provisions and ammunition in the Bay, causing as much loss to the enemy as they had inflicted on the Spaniards.

In a few days other batteries were constructed, and the principal one of twenty guns advanced towards the Land Port and Curtain. The fire from these was most effectual, and the MSS. of the Curate relate the ravages it produced in the place.

82. At this time arrived in the Bay the English Squadron of twenty ships, under Admiral Lake, with troops, ammunition, and provisions. Four French frigates were then at anchor, but, to avoid being captured, the commanders of three set fire to them, and landed the crews ; the fourth attempted to escape, being a fast sailer, but, being pursued by the enemy, she surrendered after a sharp engagement ; and as the whole Bay was now at the command of the Admiral, the Spaniards were obliged to withdraw a part of their artillery to defend the coast.

We have now to record an event, which, if not so well authenticated by the traditionary recollection of many respectable residents at San Roque, Algeciras, and Los Barrios, would be almost incredible ; but their testimony is supported by that of the Marquess of San Felipe, of Bruzen de la

Martiniere, of the Curate of Gibraltar, and finally of an individual, yet alive in 1781, who was engaged in the exploit.

83. While the siege was proceeding vigorously as described, there came to the Marquess of Villadarias a Goatherd, named Simon Susarte, a native of Gibraltar, who, in exercising his calling, had become intimately acquainted with the place, particularly with the upper part of the Mountain, and to whom every path and track was perfectly known.

This person offered to conduct to the top of the Rock, by a path little known on the Eastern side, called the "*Senda del Pastor*," any number of troops that might be sent to accompany him ; and as the upper part was little frequented, and slenderly fortified, the recovery of Gibraltar was certain on a force being once established there. The cautious General, before undertaking the expedition, sent an officer with Susarte to reconnoitre, and ascertain the feasibility of the project ; and being assured of the practicability of the ascent, he intrusted 500 men, under the command of Colonel Figueroa, to the guidance of the goatherd. Under his direction, on the night of the ninth of November, they reached the summit at the place called the "*Little Saddle*," and secreted themselves in San Michael's Cave, contiguous, there to be joined by other forces, who were to follow in the morning, when an attack by surprise was to be made on the enemy. An hour

before daybreak this little band came forth from their shelter, sending a small advance to the Hacho,* where, being taken by surprise, the guard was overpowered and slain; this detachment rejoined the main body, which formed in order of battle, in front of the "Silleta," to protect the succours expected to arrive to their support. The day broke, a considerable time elapsed, no troops appeared, and as much silence and indifference prevailed in the camp below as if not a single Spaniard had been on the Mountain.

The Colonel with his small force prepared nevertheless to defend himself against the enemy, who, astonished at the appearance of hostile troops on the Mountain, and ignorant as to the way by which they had arrived, hastened to despatch a regiment under Prince Henry of Armstadt. Advancing under great disadvantage, they were roughly handled by the Spaniards, and Prince Henry was wounded in the face. The ammunition of these was soon exhausted; for incredible as it may appear, they had among the whole number only three cartouch boxes, and being soon overpowered, and many slain, the remainder were made prisoners, with the exception of their guide, and a few others, who returned to the Spanish camp to express their indignation at being deserted on so trying an occasion.

* Signal Station.—*Tr.*

Thus failed an attempt, by the misconduct of the Spanish General, which, if properly supported by a reinforcement of troops and ammunition, must infallibly have ended in the recapture of the place, without firing a single shot from the besieging batteries. Many are the misfortunes, however disastrous, to which remedies may be applied; but the loss of Gibraltar, this failure at regaining it, and the mischiefs that ensued, admitted of no alleviation.

84. The Siege continued to be prosecuted with vigour, and the Garrison as resolutely defended. The English, placing their ships in line, commenced a tremendous fire on the Spanish batteries, but this being as resolutely returned, they were obliged to quit their position and retire to a distance. Nor was an attempt, made on the 24th of November, to effect a disembarkation at Algeciras, more successful; the enemy was repulsed by Don Luis de Solis and the Marquess de Patuna, and obliged to retire with considerable loss. During this period of the Siege, the assailants suffered fully as much as the besieged; for the severity of the weather tended to destroy or render useless their works, although continually renewed, while the enemy was reinforced by fresh arrivals, and was well supplied with provisions from Barbary, having made peace with the Emperor of Morocco.

Frequent engagements, with various success,

took place in the Bay between the French and English ships ; the Siege was carried on without intermission, and as by sickness and desertion the troops were much diminished, the King ordered Marshal Tessé, after leaving the Frontiers on the side of Portugal sufficiently secured, to proceed to the assistance of the Siege of Gibraltar.

The nation ardently desired the recovery of the place ; and as the besieging army was now reinforced by 1000 Grenadiers and 4000 Troops of the Line from Castille, together with four Companies recalled from Oran, the greatest expectation of success was entertained. The lines were advanced to the foot of the mountain, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, an incessant fire was kept up against the North front ; and finally, the breach in the walls of the Castle being deemed practicable, an assault on the 7th Feb. (1705), was determined on. The advance, although meeting a most obstinate resistance, and encountering numerous obstacles as they approached, being exposed to an open fire, arrived at the walls and passed the ditch ; but here the continued shower of balls that fell on them obliged them to retire and give over the attack, after sustaining very considerable loss.

The Curate Romero relates, that on that occasion the place would have fallen had the Spaniards been aware of the alarm and confusion prevailing within, and persevered in their attack ; “ but the

“ French troops,” he observes, “jealous of Villadarias, and desirous that Marshal Tessé, daily expected, should have the honour of the capture, gave little support at the Assault, and were the first to retire, whence arose the great loss that fell on the Spaniards. To the spot reached by them it is certain no assailants will ever again arrive, in consequence of the numerous Batteries since erected, upon which Xerxes himself with all his host would be unable to make any impression.”

The arrival of Marshal Tessé to supersede the Marquess Villadarias was sensibly felt by that officer and his companions in arms ; dissatisfaction and disputes ensued, and finally the Marquess, with many brave officers, retired from the army. The English, emboldened by their late success, made frequent sallies, which, although always attended with loss, greatly disturbed the operations of the Besiegers. Naval engagements between the French and English frequently occurred; and, seeing the Fleet of the latter return triumphant into the Bay, the Spaniards lost all hope of success. Lord Portmore arrived to assume the command of the Garrison, accompanied by skilful Engineers, under whose directions new works and Fortifications were commenced ; the recapture of the Place appeared to the Spaniards impossible, and the Siege was, in the month of May, converted into a Blockade.

85. The hopes and expectations of the old inhabitants, anxiously waiting the result, being thus altogether frustrated, they dispersed themselves among the vineyards, farmhouses, and cottages in the neighbourhood, where, on the 21st May, 1706, a despatch was received from the Royal Council, ordering the senior magistrate to assemble the others in some convenient place, to appoint guards and proper officers for the government of the district, in the same manner as had been practised in the Town of Gibraltar. The meeting took place in the following month of June, when, by common consent, the spot where is now the Town of San Roque was fixed upon as the centre of the jurisdiction under the new arrangement.

Religion being the principal object of all good citizens, a Chapel had been already erected at that place for the accommodation of the numerous surrounding population. The salubrity of San Roque, and the increasing number of its inhabitants, caused houses and cottages to be built, and hence arose the Town bearing that name; become the seat of Government for the remainder of the District of Gibraltar, and having subordinate to it both Los Barrios and Algeciras, to which places also many inhabitants had retired at the period of the capture.

In the meantime the Curate Juan Romero remained in Gibraltar in care of the Church,

occasionally corresponding with his Bishop ; and from the Documents he left we learn many particulars relating to the place. He describes emphatically the changes and corruption in the laws and customs, censures severely many idle Clergy, both secular and regular, who sought refuge in the place ; and with grief recounts the injuries done to many holy Images by the heretics, which he in vain attempted to prevent. In an elaborate discourse he fully justifies himself from any interested or sordid motives for remaining in Gibraltar, shewing that but for his presence the holy Church of Saint Mary would have shared the fate of all the others, and declares that if, instead of being captured by the English, it had been taken by the Turks or Moors, or by the Prince of Darkness himself, he would have acted precisely in the same way.

86. At length arrived the termination of the war that had endured ten years, when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed by Queen Anne of England and Philip the Fifth the 13th July, 1713, by the Tenth Article of which,* although with great grief to H. C. Majesty, Gibraltar was finally ceded in the following terms :—

“ The Catholic King for himself and his successors cedes to Great Britain the entire possession of the City, Castle, Port, and Fortifica-

* Appendix No XV.

“ tions of Gibraltar, to hold and be enjoyed abso-
“ lutely and in full right for ever and without any
“ reservation.

“ Not the slightest territorial jurisdiction is
“ conceded, nor any open communication by the
“ Land Gate with the country immediately around,
“ to avoid all frauds that might be committed ;
“ and as the communication by sea is not always
“ secure, and as the Garrison and inhabitants of
“ the place may occasionally feel a scarcity and be
“ in need, it is in such case permitted them to buy
“ with ready money in the nearest parts of Spain
“ the provisions and other things that the Garri-
“ son, the inhabitants, and the vessels in the Port
“ may require.

“ The merchandize that shall be extracted from
“ Gibraltar, to be exchanged for provisions or with
“ any other object, shall be confiscated, and those
“ contravening in this shall be severely punished.
“ H. B. M. agrees not to permit to dwell nor
“ remain in Gibraltar neither Jews nor Moors, nor
“ to allow the vessels of the latter to have shelter
“ or protection in the Port, for, if it were permitted,
“ the Moors might cut off the communication with
“ Ceuta and annoy the coasts of Spain ; never-
“ theless, as they may be engaged in commerce
“ with Great Britain, entrance to the Port shall not
“ be refused to Vessels solely engaged in trade.
“ H. B. Majesty obliges himself to tolerate the free
“ exercise of the Catholic religion ; and in case the
“ possession of Gibraltar should be alienated, it is

“covenanted that a preference, to the entire exclusion of all other pretenders, shall be given to the Crown of Spain.”

By this Article of the Treaty were dissipated all the hopes of the former inhabitants for the recovery of their houses and possessions on the Rock of Gibraltar. But, as the Government had always considered them as forming a city and permanent population, it named for them a special Chief Magistrate or Corregidor in 1716, conferring this honour on Don Bernardo Dias de Isla, together, as declared in the Royal Patent, with a *Council, Tribunals, Officers, and Gentlemen of the City of Gibraltar*, as has since been continued, and is always repeated whenever by death a new appointment becomes necessary. The result was the reestablishment of the City of Gibraltar in San Roque, being in a central part of its district, and the congregating there its inhabitants, by whom the affairs were conducted as formerly.

A little alleviation was thus bestowed on those despoiled of their property; and protection was afforded them against the Genoese and other depredators, who sallied forth from the Garrison to plunder.

87. But the Spanish monarch never for a moment lost sight of the object he had so much at heart; always aspiring to the recovery of Gibraltar, not so much by the force of arms as by advantageous propositions and concessions made in various treaties. The Peace of Utrecht had

done little towards establishing permanent tranquillity, and the jealousies of the European Powers led them to form a *Quadruple Alliance*, to which Philip was invited to accede; and to this end a promise was made to him on the part of the Regent of France, that he would bind himself to obtain from George I. the restitution of Gibraltar. This was not deemed satisfactory by Spain; and on the arrival at Madrid of Mr. Secretary Stanhope, he was made clearly to understand that the King would not join the Alliance unless, among other conditions, it was stipulated as a Preliminary, that both Minorca and Gibraltar should be surrendered. This not being acceded to, the conferences broke off, and hostilities immediately commenced, without any declaration of war, by Admiral Byng destroying the Spanish Fleet on the Coast of Sicily in 1719. In the following year, however, circumstances induced the King to accept the Alliance, to which his minister, the Marquess Barreti, gave assent on the part of Spain at the Hague, the 17th February, 1720. But neither on this occasion, nor on those of subsequent treaties, was any mention made of the restitution of Gibraltar. The Duke of Orleans had, no doubt, urged George I. to the surrender, of which Philip was assured both by his letters and his ministers; and, although the English Parliament and the nation blindly opposed themselves to this act of justice, there is no doubt of the good disposition of the

King, as appears by the letter * he wrote to Philip the Fifth, June 1721, before the signing of the Treaties at Madrid.

He therein states, " That since your Catholic Majesty is resolved to remove the obstacles that for some time have disturbed our union ; and as your Majesty with confidence assures me I may calculate on the re-establishment of the treaties that have been in discussion between us ; and as, consequently, the necessary arrangements regarding the commerce of my subjects will be settled, I no longer hesitate to satisfy you in what concerns the restitution of Gibraltar, promising to avail myself of the first favourable occasion to settle that question through the intervention of my Parliament."

88. This favourable moment, however, never arrived ; the fulfilment of the promise being always delayed by the proposition for new treaties, or by specious excuses ; while the garrison, in despite of the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, which ceded the place, without any territorial jurisdiction whatever, or communication with the district around, pretended to a right of possession on the land side, as far as the range of a cannon shot ; and although the representations to Madrid, on this subject, from the Commandant of the Campo were loud and strong, the love of peace induced the Govern-

* Appendix No. XIII.

ment to overlook this infraction of the treaty. Insensibly, encroachments have been made, and a large extent of ground occupied beyond the Rock. Other infringements have taken place; contraband goods have been introduced, to the great prejudice of the Spanish revenue; Moorish vessels of war have found shelter and protection under the guns of the Garrison when pursued by Spanish ships, and our coasts consequently alarmed and exposed to the depredations of the Infidels. Jews, moreover, with an insolent disregard of the 10th Article, have found protection, have been allowed to establish their families and trade freely in the place; a large Synagogue has been erected, and, what is still worse, one of the principal Jews is styled "King," and has great authority in all matters of business.

On the return of peace, and some communication by land being permitted, the Curate Romero occupied himself in placing in security the effects belonging to the Church, by distributing them, as opportunities occurred, among persons returning to Spain, to be delivered to the Clergy of the neighbouring Churches. After his death, in 1723, other Curates continued the same practice, but not with equal success; for the Curate Romero de Figueroa, less fortunate than his predecessors, was, in consequence of representations to the Governor, by the Genoese and other bad Christians, of his stratagems for conveying to San Roque the valu-

ables of the Church, ignominiously expelled, being drummed out of the garrison.

Since the capture, in 1704, almost every thing of value, however, had been extracted ; for, besides the antient Archives, Documents, and Registers of Baptism, there were carried away four silver Lamps, five Chalices, the Incensory, three Dresses for celebrating Mass, with a large quantity of Linen, and the silver Cup and Ewer for Baptisms.

But the pious ingenuity of the different Curates was more especially displayed in the extraction of the Images. Some were wrapped in clothes, some carried back in the baskets in which provisions had been brought for sale, and others taken away by various contrivances. In this way were removed the “*Virgen de los Dolores*”—of “*Los Remedios*”—of the “*Socorro* ;” the “*Christo de la Espiracion* ;” the “*Magdalena* ;” and many others. A statue of San Josef, which from its corpulency could not be so well concealed, was removed by the ingenuity of a good Catholic, called Josef Martin de Medina, who placed it on a horse, being covered with a cloak, and surmounted by a *Montera* cap ; supported behind by a rider, the statue thus left the Garrison, on horseback, undiscovered, being surrounded by Josef and his tumultuous companions.

89. Subsequently to this period, and until 1727, when Gibraltar was for the thirteenth time besieged, the King of Spain left no means untried in

order to regain that important place. Convinced that negotiating alone with Great Britain would be unavailing, he sought to fortify himself by new alliances before again attempting hostilities; and finding the Emperor, Charles VI., but little satisfied with the recent treaties, and tired of the slow progress of the Congress at Cambrai, he readily persuaded him to adopt his views, and endeavour by force of arms to establish their pretensions and the rights they asserted. A treaty of defensive alliance, therefore, was signed on the 30th of April, 1725, between these two monarchs, consisting of six articles, the second of which was literally as follows:—*

“The minister of the most serene King of
“Spain having made appear that the King of
“Great Britain had promised the restitution of
“Gibraltar and its Port, and as the King of Spain
“insisted on the restitution also of that of Minorca and Port Mahon, H. A. Majesty hereby
“declares he will not oppose such restitution, if it
“can be obtained amicably; farther, if it should
“appear useful he will use his good offices to that
“effect, and interpose his mediation, should the
“respective parties desire it.” This was soon followed by a declaration from the Spanish minister, in London, “That the continuation of the
“alliance and commerce between England and

* Appendix No. XIV.

“ Spain depended absolutely on the prompt restitution of Gibraltar.” Finally, in 1726, the Spanish ambassador declared formally in London, “ That the concession of Gibraltar formerly made “ by the King of Spain was annulled by the violation of the conditions under which the English “ were to remain in possession of it; inasmuch “ as, regardless of the remonstrances made by “ Spain, the fortifications had been extended “ beyond the limits prescribed and agreed on; “ that Jews and Moors were freely admitted on “ the same footing as Spaniards and the subjects “ of other nations, all indiscriminately mixed “ together against our holy religion; not to speak “ of the continual contraband trade carried on to “ the great prejudice of H. C. Majesty’s revenues.”

This warlike disposition on the part of Spain was, however, in anticipation of the necessary preparations, or any fixed plan for the commencement of hostilities.

Numerous councils were held, and various proposals made without any thing being specifically determined on, when at length the Count Las Torres, a distinguished officer in the war of the Succession, at that time Viceroy of Navarre, gave assurance of the easy conquest of Gibraltar; and, as this opinion accorded with that of H. M., the undertaking was resolved on, and orders given in the months of January and February, 1727, to march 17,000 men into the Campamento of San Roque.

This determination, so hastily taken, led only to disputes among the Spanish Generals that were alone tranquillized by the efforts of the Count de Montemar. No preparation had been made for the arduous task to be undertaken ; artillery was wanting, and fascines, timber, and the necessary materials for constructing batteries were all yet to be procured. The delay thence arising gave time for preparation to the garrison, then comprising only 1280 men, with but few cannon mounted, and enabled the Government soon to increase the number to 5000. As, under the Count de las Torres, great exertions, however, were made in the Spanish Camp, a battery on the Western Beach was constructed, in advance, which alarmed the Commander, General Clayton, who sent to the Count a remonstrance* against such offensive measures, taken during profound peace. To this the Count replied,† that the battery and entrenchments were constructed on Spanish ground, in consequence of the extension of the English beyond their proper jurisdiction, and that he should regulate his measures accordingly. During the night time, by the aid of a strong force of engineers and workmen, other entrenchments were thrown up, reaching from the Devil's Tower to the Western beach, between which and the garrison little space remained for farther operations.

* Appendix No. XV.

† Appendix No. XVI.

90. The besieged on their part were not inactive, and the fire from Queen Anne's Battery, and those on the heights above Parsley Hill. greatly disturbed the operations of the Spaniards, causing the most experienced officers to declare, that before proceeding farther with their works these batteries must be silenced. For this purpose a mine was commenced on the above Hill, immediately below Queen Anne's battery, in a cave capable of containing twenty men; but the rock was solid and hard, and after much delay and with great labour a space was cleared of eleven toises, five feet in width and five and a half in height. Ten toises were yet wanting before arriving perpendicularly under the battery, where a chamber, a toise and a half square, was to be formed, and which, when loaded, was expected to blow up the battery and fill the ditch below it. Had this operation been completed and the mine been sprung, it would in all probability have shaken and silenced, if not altogether destroyed the battery. For notwithstanding the ridicule the attempt gave rise to, even in the Spanish camp, it must be recollected that the mine was not commenced at the foot of the mountain, but at a considerable elevation, and that the height from it of the battery above was not very great.

In the mean time the works were carried on with vigour, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and, still worse, the dissensions among

the Generals in the camp. The batteries being at length completed, a most furious and incessant fire was opened on the 7th May against the whole of the works at the Land Port.

At first it was as vigorously returned ; but that from the Spaniards was so powerful and well directed that, on the 10th, eleven guns only could answer the fire. In the mean time much damage had been done to our batteries, which were often on fire and very greatly injured.

91. In the midst of these operations despatches from Madrid were received by the Spanish General, Count las Torres, which, being communicated to Lord Portmore, produced a suspension of hostilities ; the forces on either side retaining their respective positions, but without intercourse between them. In this situation they continued many months, preliminaries of peace not being agreed on until March in the following year ; and during this period it was that, taking advantage of the great force before Gibraltar remaining inactive, the Count Montemar caused to be constructed the Lines from the Bay to the Mediterranean, terminated by the Forts San Philip and Santa Barbara.

Against this undertaking Lord Portmore strongly remonstrated, declaring it an infraction of the Armistice ; but, finding his representations unattended to, the batteries were ordered to fire on the working parties, although with little suc-

cess; for, notwithstanding this occasional interruption, the work was continued, and the Lines constructed as they now exist.

The negotiations among the European Cabinets were long protracted before the terms of peace were agreed on, and violent discussions and protests took place in the English Parliament, regarding Minorca and Gibraltar, in consequence of the letter of George I. The English nation, however, had so much at heart the possession of this latter place, that all other considerations finally gave way, and by the Treaty of Seville, signed the 9th of November, 1729, between Spain, France, Great Britain, and Holland, the King of Spain recognised the right of Great Britain to Gibraltar and Mahon, as conceded by the Treaty of Utrecht, and confirmed by subsequent ones; and, as the Spanish Monarch became by this Treaty guarantee for all the British possessions, the aforesaid places were of course included.

92. Thus terminated at that time all endeavours for the recovery of Gibraltar. The sacrifices made by Spain had been great, and could never be sufficiently recompensed by its present possessors. Spain, to accomplish its restitution, had acceded, with evident loss and scandalous violation of faith, to the Quadruple Alliance; had evacuated Sardinia, and part of Sicily, conquered by her arms; and, trusting to the letter of George I., had adhered to the preliminary Articles

of Paris ; had raised the Siege ; had restored the ship Prince Frederick, detained at Vera Cruz, and valued at two millions sterling, and was not indemnified for the losses sustained by the blockade, under Admiral Hozier, of the Spanish fleet at Porto Bello.

93. The peace that ensued after the treaty of Seville, left Gibraltar for a long series of years in the undisturbed possession of the English. In 1730 died the Governor, Lord Portmore, who in May of that year was succeeded by General Sabine ; and although the result of the last siege had sufficiently shown that the Fortress was impregnable, at least on the land side, vast sums of money were expended in escarpments and fortifications at Europa Point and along the sea line, so as entirely to secure the whole against any sudden attack.

Each succeeding Governor sought to add to the strength of the Rock by the erection of new batteries, or by some improvement to the existing fortifications.

In the mean time the Government of Spain never ceased complaining* of the deviation from the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Utrecht, by the erection of new works, the encroachments on Spanish territory, and the undisguised contraband traffic daily carried on. But although under these circumstances an absence of all cordiality

* Appendix No. XVII.

prevailed, and war even again broke out in consequence of the depredations of the English on our possessions in the new world, Gibraltar escaped from any open acts of hostility.

In the year 1766 occurred one of those deluges, caused by a tremendous fall of rain on the last day of January, to which places in Southern latitudes similarly situated to Gibraltar are often exposed. The torrent from the mountain was so impetuous and large, that the ordinary water courses were insufficient for carrying it off. Stones of great magnitude, with sand and earth, were washed down by the rain, filling the lower parts of the houses, blocking up the streets, and preventing the opening of the Sally Ports, through which alone the water could escape. The lower part of the town was completely inundated, much damage was done to the merchandize in the stores, and more than fifty persons are said to have lost their lives on this occasion.*

94. Gibraltar had already been sixty years in possession of the English, and subject to numerous catastrophes. The changes and alterations it had undergone during this period, in buildings, fortifications, religion, manners, and customs, rendered it impossible to be recognised as the City that was lost in 1704. The retaining this Rock as a permanent possession being considered

* A similar occurrence, attended by equally disastrous consequences, took place in October, 1834, when eleven lives were also lost.—*Tr.*

of the highest importance, the utmost attention had been bestowed for the improvement of the Fortifications on every side, and not a spot was left unoccupied by artillery if it could possibly be used for defence against an enemy. Many of the old public buildings, erected for more sacred purposes, were converted into barracks or storehouses. The Moorish castle, which had suffered much during two protracted sieges, was allowed to remain in a neglected state, and the Arsenal below could no longer be recognised.

The Parish Church of Saint Mary remained for the use of the Catholics, and is the only one possessed by them ; these are chiefly Genoese, and by them a Curate is maintained for the service of the altar ; the Church has undergone many alterations, and of its court-yard and well, to water the orange trees, the recollection alone remains. The Franciscan Convent has become the residence of the Governor ; its fine Church is used for the Protestant service of the English, to which they are summoned by beat of drum, the Governor not sanctioning the use of bells, which disturb and incommode him.

This extensive building is conveniently situated near the shore, and has a fine commanding view of the Bay and opposite Coast : a delicious garden is attached to it, serving as well for the recreation of the Governor as for the supply of his table. The remaining Churches and Chapels have been

destined to profane uses; for the Nunnery of Santa Clara has been converted into barracks, the Convent of San Juan de Dios into a large store-house, and that of the devout Mercenarios has become the dwelling of the Admiral. Besides these edifices, numerous others have been enlarged, altered, or rebuilt by the English. We have noticed the extensive Hospital for seamen at the south, and in the centre of the town, on an elevation, is another for the use of inhabitants. Near Charles V.'s Wall is a large Armoury, to serve in case of need. At the south, the Chief Engineer, Mr. Green, laid out, in 1777, at his own expense, an extensive and fine garden, well stocked with a variety of exquisite plants, shrubs, and fruit-trees. In South Port Ditch is a large garden; many others are cultivated by the Genoese; and besides that of the Franciscan Convent, the Governor has a large and valuable one in the centre of the Town,* besides the Esplanade without, yielding sufficient grass to supply, throughout the year, his own horses and the cattle employed in the public works. The court-yards of the houses are formed into gardens, in the Andalusian fashion, and which, although small, are adorned with a variety of flowers and trellis-work that give them a most agreeable appearance in the Summer season.

* Where now stands the Garrison Library.—*Tr.*

Besides the Garrison, Gibraltar contains, in time of peace, about 3000 inhabitants of both sexes and of all ages: of these, 500 are English, 1000 are Jews, and the remainder Catholics, Portuguese, Italians, some Spaniards, and numerous Genoese.

It was apprehended that amid such diversity of persons of different Religions, Customs, and Interests, quarrels and atrocities would prevail in Gibraltar similar to those existing in other cities in Spain. But the severity of a military Government has prevented such disorders; for individuals resorting thither, being aware of the certainty of punishment awaiting offences, and that the magistrates and those in authority cannot be corrupted, find their own security best guaranteed by not disturbing that of others; and thus, by the effect of good and certain laws well enforced, many years passed without any occurrence of assassinations or violent deaths, as are too often seen in smaller places where the inhabitants are of uniform Manners and Religion.

Almost all the Maritime Powers maintain Consuls at Gibraltar, commerce being there the principal occupation. The richest mercantile houses are the English; and besides the military and civil officers of the Government, there are other Englishmen, who keep inns and pursue various occupations. The Jews, for the most part, are shopkeepers and brokers, as much given to cheating and to lending money at exorbitant interest there

as their brethren are elsewhere. They have a synagogue, and openly practise the ceremonies of their religion, notwithstanding the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht. They are chiefly managed by some principal one among them, whom they style King: he is in communication with the Governor, who through him regulates the imposts paid by them for his sole benefit; his power being infinitely more arbitrary and despotic than that of the King of England. The Genoese are traders, but the greater part of them are fishermen, sailors, and gardeners; and these, as well as the Jews, speak a language compounded of Spanish and English, and a dialect, or jargon, common to all southern nations, not excluding the Africans.

It is difficult to conceive how so many persons can be maintained by trade in so small a space, insulated on all sides, and cut off from free communication with Spain, there being neither manufactures nor agriculture wherein to employ themselves, nor vineyards, nor herds to be attended to.

It is a barren Rock, and the Governor and garrison are the principal customers, if, indeed, they do not sufficiently provide themselves before leaving England for the time they are to remain in that place of exile; for in such light it must be viewed, since they are limited to the small territory within the walls, and sandy promenades whereon to take exercise. How is it possible that the contraband trade with Spain can suffice to maintain such a

numerous population? The traffic with Barbary is doubtful and insecure: it follows, therefore, that this possession is useless to Great Britain, and, in fact, many of her politicians have declared the retaining it burthensome, and unproductive of the advantages expected from it at the time of the capture.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Gibraltar, being a free port for all nations, and there not being any custom house, vessels arrive and depart, and goods are landed, bought, or sold, with an entire exemption from every kind of duty; and consequently a most extensive commerce is at all times carried on. Its excellent situation makes it an Emporium for Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Ocean. Vessels from the North of Europe exchange their commodities there for the productions of India and the Americas; or, leaving these at Gibraltar, carry away in return the rich productions of Spain and the Mediterranean. From Africa are received large supplies of wax and live cattle; the latter being allowed to be exported from Barbary for the use of the Garrison, the English being great consumers of meat; but of which the troops, however, are allowed to eat only three days in the week, to prevent the introduction of the scurvy.

The usual time for guard-mounting is seven o'clock in the Summer, and eight in Winter; there are usually two parades, every morning, at

both of which the Governor is present, attended by the Town Major; one is of the Artillery, the other of the Troops of the Line; all of which are marched with order and regularity to their respective posts, where they remain only twenty-four hours, being relieved every day, however distant they may be, however bad the weather or rough the roads.

It is a circumstance worthy of great attention, that there is not in the Garrison a single cannon, mortar, or howitzer mounted, that has not some precise and well defined object. In all other places guns are ready for discharging; but here they are ready for firing on an enemy at what time or wheresoever he may present himself. It is the duty of the Commandant of each district to be acquainted with all that relates to their use, and to cause to be reported to him, twice a day, as well their condition as that of the implements and furniture belonging to them. This minute service is somewhat onerous for the officers, but on the whole they have little reason to complain, considering the advantages they enjoy while on service at Gibraltar.

95. In this state, enjoying tranquillity, continued the Garrison during five years, since the commencement of the dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies. Its officers were received with urbanity and kindness whenever they visited the neighbourhood, either for relax-

ation or the amusement of shooting; but the conduct of their Government put an end to this friendly intercourse. As the war with America progressed, the disasters and discomfitures experienced by the mother-country ought to have dictated sentiments of moderation and even condescension towards Spain, whose forty sail of the line might greatly embarrass her operations on the other side the Atlantic. Very different feelings dictated the measures of her Government; haughty in her humiliation, and blind in her resolutions, Great Britain provoked the anger of the King of Spain by insulting his flag, detaining his vessels, examining and treating them while at peace as if they belonged to an enemy. She dared even to detain the Royal Packet Boats from India, and open the despatches for the Government; in profound peace she threatened the Spanish dominions in America, and excited the Indians against the innocent inhabitants of Louisiana. She arrogated to herself the sovereignty of the Isthmus of Darien and the coast of San Blas, carrying her usurpations even to the Bay of Honduras. And these acts of violence were committed against the just and magnanimous Charles III. who, in his love of peace, had used all his endeavours to mediate between Great Britain and France, when the latter declared in favour of the Americans.

In 1779 war was at length declared; a large

Fleet was fitted out at Cadiz, and the Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar was determined on. Under the command of Lieutenant-General Alvarez de Sotomayor, an officer of great renown, accompanied by many others of celebrity, including Don Rudesindo Tilly, General of Artillery, and the Marquess of Arellano, General of Cavalry, an Army of 13,740 men was marched to attack Gibraltar, while preparations were making to blockade the Port, and prevent the entrance even of a single vessel with supplies or reinforcements.

The Garrison at that time, consisting of 3,800 men, including 200 of the Artillery, was under the command of General Elliot, a soldier of great reputation, much firmness, and excellent conduct; and to besiege it now, for the fourteenth time, was brought a powerful military force, under experienced Generals, accompanied by an abundance of Artillery and ammunition, in aid of which were the French and Spanish Fleets combined, while the attention of the whole of Europe was anxiously directed to the result.

In 1780 the Blockade, begun in the preceding year, was converted into an active Siege; but its progress, the continuance of the war, the recovery of Mahon by the Spaniards, the naval actions and the events that took place, together with a recital of the attack by the floating batteries and fireship, now in preparation, must remain to be recounted by some other writer. In the meantime

we may hope that the result of this undertaking against a place so strongly fortified, but attacked by such powerful forces, may correspond to the justice of the cause, to the intelligence and activity of the Duke de Crillon, and to the well known valour of the Spanish Troops.

IN the preceding History of Don Ignacio Agola, the Reader has been conducted to the period when hostilities between Great Britain and Spain at length assumed an active character, and the most memorable of the Sieges to which Gibraltar has been subjected was about to be commenced.

For an account of this Siege, and of the events that occurred during its continuance, three years and seven months, recourse should be had to Colonel Drinkwater's interesting work, "The Siege of Gibraltar." From it are extracted the following details, closing with the Peace of 1783, since which time Gibraltar has been undisturbed amidst alterations, changes, and Revolutions of a character and extent equally unparalleled as unprecedented.

At the end of June, 1779, the communication by land was finally closed by the Spaniards, leaving no longer any doubt of their hostile intentions against Gibraltar. A council of war was immediately summoned to consider the measures

to be pursued ; when the state of the Garrison appeared to be as follows :—

Royal Artillery	428	Rank and File.
Five Regiments of the Line, } together	3003	Ditto.
Three Regiments of Hano- } verians	1095	Ditto.
Engineers, with a Company } of Artificers	106	Ditto.
	<hr/>	
	4632	
Officers, Staff, &c.....	750	
	<hr/>	
Making an Army of	5382	Men.

For so large a force, the supplies and provisions in store for any great length of time were very inadequate. Of live cattle there were only forty head ; but arrangements were made by the English Consul at Tangier for sending over a supply from time to time, as occasions might offer ; although the superior naval force of the enemy made this exceedingly precarious. A Dutch vessel laden with wheat being brought in, gave a seasonable reinforcement to the stock of provisions ; and as boats and small craft, creeping along shore during the night, continually arrived from Faro, and others from Oran, no serious inconvenience as regarded food was at any time felt.

As provisions for the inhabitants, however, were becoming scarce and exceedingly dear, most of the Hebrews and Genoese left the Garrison early

in August, the regulation, that every inhabitant should at all times have in his possession six months' provision, having been greatly neglected.

The first hostile shot fired by the Spaniards was from Fort San Barbara, on the 11th of July, on one of our men-of-war boats; and it was easy to observe that the greatest activity prevailed throughout their camp; that supplies and ammunition were daily arriving, and their works augmenting. Equal exertions were made within the Garrison; and nothing was omitted that skill could devise, either for resisting an attack, or annoying the enemy.

In the early part of 1780, the superiority of the enemy's naval force enabled them to blockade the Port, and greatly interfere with the arrival of supplies. An attempt to burn our shipping was made in June, by nine Fire-ships, under Admiral Barcelo, which, although well planned, was defeated, with great loss to the enemy, by the gallantry of our navy. In the meantime the operations of the enemy were carried on with great perseverance, and distress began to be felt in the Garrison, when, in 1781, it was happily relieved by a Convoy from England, under Admiral Darby, with supplies of all sorts, at the sight of which the enemy appear to have become exasperated, for an immediate Bombardment took place, which reduced the Town to ruins, and destroyed all that belonged to the remaining inhabitants, who, for

the safety of their lives, were obliged to seek shelter among the rocks at the South.

In November, 1781, the enemy's works had been constructed so near to the Garrison, and new parallels had been formed with a return of Cask-work to the West, that the Governor determined to attempt their destruction. On the nights, therefore, of the 26th and 27th, a sortie was made under his personal direction, and was so successfully executed, that in a very short time were seen in flames the whole of the advance works of the enemy, the construction of which had cost him immense time, labour, and expense.

In June, 1782, the Duke de Crillon assumed the command of the besieging forces; but, in the month of August following, the French King's brother, the Count d'Artois, arrived and put himself at the head of the combined armies. Civil letters passed between him and the Governor, but the siege continued with unabated vigour. The damage done by the sortie and continued fire from the Garrison had been for the most part repaired, new works had been constructed and were every hour advancing to perfection. Instead of a second sortie, which their state seemed again to invite, another mode for their destruction was resorted to, and the honour of causing this disgrace was reserved for Lieutenant-General Boyd, who recommended, by a letter to the Governor, the use of red-hot shot against the Land Batteries of the Besiegers.

At this time the strength of the Garrison, with the Marine Brigade (including officers), in September, was about 7500 men; upwards of 400 of whom were in hospital. The number daily on duty was 3430, viz.—

Guards . 1091 Men, including Officers.

Picquets 613

In working parties 1726 exclusive of the engineers and overseers—besides many who were constantly employed as orderlies and assistants in the Hospitals and in other Departments of the Garrison.

By the morning of the 18th of September, the preparations of the Artillery under General Boyd's direction were completed; and at 7 o'clock, the Guards being as usual relieved, the firing with hot shot commenced from all the Northern Batteries.

The effect exceeded the most sanguine expectations. In a few hours the Enemy's Batteries were in flames, to extinguish which all exertions were unavailing; and before night the whole of the advanced works were consumed. Exasperated at this unexpected insult, the Duke ordered a most tremendous cannonade from all their Batteries, which commenced at half-past 5 o'clock on the 9th, and consisted of a fire, unparalleled, of 170 pieces of ordnance, all of large calibre, including sixty shells from the Mortars.

For a considerable time past battering ships of

a peculiar construction had been preparing at Algeciras, and in the River Palmones, from the effects of which the greatest hopes of success were entertained by the Enemy. In the meantime an incessant firing was kept up, both from their men-of-war in the Bay, and from their Land Batteries; and it is calculated that, after an attack on the 10th by their ships, and independently of the shot from these, there had been discharged against the Garrison 5527 shot and 2302 shells.

On the 12th of September, 1782, a large force appeared from the Westward, which presently was found to be the combined Fleets of France and Spain, consisting of seven Three-Deckers, and thirty-one ships of Two Decks, with three Frigates, and a number of Xebecques, Bomb-vessels, and others; and it was evident that the grand attack was now no longer to be delayed. To this great accumulation of force, which created surprise, if not alarm, were added the Ten Battering Ships, built of materials and of a shape so as to render them, as was believed, impervious to either shot or shells.

On the morning of the 13th, this tremendous armament advanced to the attack, while on the land side were stupendous and strong Batteries and Works, mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, and protected by an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by a General of high reputation, and animated by the presence of two French Princes

of the Royal Blood, with other dignified personages—the whole forming a naval and military spectacle, in hostile array, unequalled in the annals of war.

As the movements of the enemy were distinctly seen, and much time necessarily elapsed, preparations were deliberately made to meet the attack. The enemy was allowed quietly to take up his position, the range of the guns from the Garrison being regulated accordingly, but as soon as the first ship dropped her anchors, which was about a quarter before 10 o'clock, the firing from the Garrison commenced. The Enemy's ships were soon moored, and the fire became tremendous. The Batteries on the land side opened, and, together with the firing from the vessels, a scene indescribable was exhibited. Suffice it to say, that 400 pieces of the heaviest Artillery were playing at the same moment.

The Battering Ships long withstood our shot, and some doubts began to be entertained of the efficacy of the red-hot Balls. In the afternoon, however, the face of things began to change. Smoke began to issue from the Flag Ship, and the Admiral's Second was also on fire, and, by the evening, the Enemy's cannonade was greatly abated. He was evidently distressed; and our Artillery, which continued firing, did great execution; but the victory was not thought so complete as the succeeding morning evinced; for the ap-

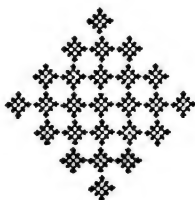
proaching day showed the complete destruction of the whole of the Battering Ships. Several had been observed on fire during the night, presenting a mingled scene of terror and sublimity. The loss of the enemy on this occasion must have been great, although it could not be ascertained ; for throughout the night the cries and lamentations from the crews of the burning or sinking vessels were distinctly heard. Our Marine Brigade exerted themselves with the utmost humanity to save the unhappy individuals who escaped from the vessels as they burned to the water's edge, or were blown up by the fire reaching the magazines ; and throughout the day Admiral Curtis exerted himself to the utmost to relieve the enemy from perishing. On our side the loss was trifling in the extreme, compared to that of the Allies, supposed to be 2,000 men, nor was the injury to our works so great as might have been expected from the effects of a force so overwhelming.

The West wind cast up many dead bodies, also a variety of articles, some trifling curiosities, and some things of value belonging to the sunken vessels. Large pieces of Mahogany and some of Cedar were saved from the wrecks, and, being made into useful articles, served as memorials of the victory.

A handsome set of dining-tables were made for the Government House, the holes in the Cedar being plugged up ; and subsequently a set of

brass candlesticks were cast from some cannon recovered from the deep, to serve as monuments to future guests of the events of that glorious day.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, so disastrous to the Enemy, the Siege was persisted in, and the firing continued with little intermission, as well from the ships in the Bay as the Batteries on shore; although, after the failure of the grand attack, little hope of success could remain to the Besiegers. Their operations, however, were carried on during the five succeeding months, until the preliminaries of peace, signed in January, 1783, were made known. Hostilities immediately ceased; and the Treaty, signed by the Belligerents in September following, left Gibraltar in the quiet possession of Great Britain.





CONCLUSION.



T length the direful sound of war ceased to be heard on this celebrated Rock. Tranquillity was restored, and a friendly intercourse quickly established between those who, but a short time previously, were vigorously engaged in the most deadly strife. But the whole of Gibraltar, and more especially the Town, presented a very deplorable aspect: the works had suffered much, and the houses were for the most part destroyed by the shot and shells of the Enemy: the streets had been unpaved, and were almost impassable.

The principal inhabitants had long since fled; and the few of the lower classes yet remaining on the Rock, chiefly occupied as suttlers, were in a miserable condition. Although landed property was at that time of trifling value, the real owners, for the most part Jews, (although neither Jews nor Catholics could then be openly the holders of land,) set earnestly to work to rebuild, encouraged by the Governor, with whose sanction

builders and masons were from all parts invited to Gibraltar.

Tranquillity brought with it naturally a revival of commerce ; but only in a moderate degree ; for merchants were slow in returning, and minor traders were not very numerous. The war, commenced in 1793, was highly beneficial to Gibraltar ; for, having a Vice-Admiralty Court, the numerous captures made by our cruisers in the Mediterranean, and off the coasts of Spain and Portugal, were daily brought in, libelled without delay, and condemned with little ceremony ; both vessels and cargoes being forthwith sold at public auction. Merchandize of great value was thus disposed of ; alike beneficially for the captors and the purchasers, who often became possessed of property at little cost, which, on further examination, proved to be of the highest value. Moreover, a system of Privateering was established, whence proceeded transactions, little honourable, although highly profitable, to the parties engaged in them, but over which the veil of oblivion has long since been drawn.

By this time the Town had again reared its head ; but unfortunately, from the apathy or neglect of succeeding Governors, the reconstruction took place without any regard to order or regularity. Each was left to erect such buildings as best suited his purpose or his means ; uniformity was entirely neglected, nor was there any observance of those

Municipal regulations so essentially necessary for the good appearance of a Town, or the health of the inhabitants.

Nevertheless, Gibraltar continued to thrive, and, as a foreign possession, was daily increasing in value, when, in the Autumn of 1804, the epidemic which three or four years previously had prevailed at Cadiz, made its appearance in the Garrison. Universal alarm and consternation ensued; the army surgeons were too much engaged with the troops to extend to others their assistance; no civil practitioners were then at hand, nor medicines for those who required them.

A frightful mortality took place; nor did the disease disappear until the cold weather set in, at which time every individual had been attacked, and whole families fallen victims to this dreadful scourge.

With restored health, prosperity again returned, and trade was already flourishing, when in 1808 the Revolution in Spain opened to Gibraltar the treasures long heaped up and lying dormant in that extensive country. Fortunately for Gibraltar, and, as it would seem, in accordance with the antient decree of the Spanish King in 1377,* it had, by Queen Anne, shortly after the capture, been declared a Free Port, with a total exemption from all fiscal control, and from imposts of any sort

* See Appendix No. 1.

on merchandize, whether imported or exported ; for, without this advantage, the smallness of the place and the want of all those local facilities possessed by Commercial Ports would have rendered impossible the management of the extensive operations daily carried on. The total exclusion, at one period, of the British flag from all Continental Ports, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, made Gibraltar a grand emporium, where apparently was conducted the business of all European nations. Wealth consequently flowed in fast, and Gibraltar became independent of foreign capital for carrying on future transactions.

The value of landed property increased in a degree unparalleled, and the fortunate land-holder found himself suddenly wealthy and independent by the increase of rents arising from the above adventitious causes.

Until 1813 this state of things uninterruptedly continued, and prosperity seemed to claim Gibraltar as her own. But a reaction was already commencing, when unhappily, by the reappearance of the epidemic, the Rock was again doomed to undergo a repetition of former horrors. From the early part of September until the end of the year the gates were closed, and all business, almost all communication, was entirely suspended. Owing to causes not very well defined, this unhappy malady again returned the following year ; and although with equal severity, the mortality was

less extensive ; it being a peculiarity of this disease that one attack is an immunity against all repetition.

The arrival in 1814 of Sir George Don, as Lieutenant Governor, may be deemed a new æra for Gibraltar ; until then, notwithstanding the events of former times, and the experience they afforded, the Rock in every thing not military had been totally neglected, and abuses of all sorts allowed to creep in.

Possessing ample means and authority, accompanied by great tact and capacity for governing, the most judicious measures were adopted by the Lieutenant Governor, cordial co-operation being given by the public in carrying out the numerous undertakings, as well for their convenience as for the embellishment of the Rock. Public buildings were erected, an Alameda was created for the recreation of the community at large, and a civil hospital was established ; nothing was omitted that could contribute to the comfort of the inhabitants ; the utmost attention being at the same time given to the military branch of the Government. All classes felt the advantages arising from well directed measures ; and for successive years prosperity again shone on Gibraltar.

In 1821, Lord Chatham having been appointed Governor on the death of the Duke of Kent, his Lordship arrived to assume the command of the Garrison ; and Sir George Don, presuming that the

residence of the new Governor would not be of long duration, retired to his country house at San Roque, patiently waiting for the period when the reins might again come into his hands.

No Governor was ever more popular than Lord Chatham; for while possessing all the high-mindedness and dignified conduct of the peer, he was a stranger to such partialities and meannesses as in former days had often been practised by those in command.

No alteration took place in the system adopted by his predecessor; improvements were continued, a Protestant Church was built, and the Garrison and works were kept in the greatest state of perfection. During this Government, was brought to a close the Commission appointed in 1817, for settling the titles to land in Gibraltar. In consequence of the neglect of former Governors, and the absence of any establishment for carrying on the settlement made in 1749 under General Bland, the greatest irregularities had occurred, and most of the titles by which lands and houses were held were either liable to forfeiture or tainted with defects.

The Commissioners, acting under the Orders in Council of 1817 and 1819, caused a revival of the whole, and titles were again settled on a permanent basis, the former disabilities with respect to Jews and Catholics being altogether removed.

In 1825 Lord Chatham quitted the Garrison, the Command of which again devolved on Sir George Don.

Seventeen years had already elapsed since the Revolution in 1808 gave a hope to Spain of enjoying freedom and a liberal Government ; with a reasonable expectation that, by a more enlightened commercial policy, the disgraceful contraband traffic so extensively carried on from Gibraltar might be finally abolished. Unfortunately each succeeding year seemed to remove to a still greater distance this desideratum, while confusion, perpetual change, and anarchy were usurping the place of order and stability ; there being no prospect but of increasing misfortune to that fine country, suffering under an apparently interminable Revolution.

“ *Mobilitate viget viresque acquirit eundo.*”

Under these afflicting changes Gibraltar became the asylum for the exiles of all ranks, who successively fell victims to the more powerful among contending factions ; and the greatest circumspection and good management were requisite on the part of the Commander of this Fortress to steer clear of the rancour evinced by each ephemeral Government at Madrid, and keep open a friendly intercourse with the neighbourhood, so essential to the comfort and convenience both of the garrison and population. This was accomplished by the tact and amiable qualities of Sir George Don ; and though surrounded by political agitation, extending itself sometimes almost to the gates, Gib-

raltar enjoyed repose and tranquillity, and prosperity attended all classes of the community.

With these observations might with propriety terminate this short epitome of the History of Gibraltar subsequent to the Siege, were it not of importance to notice the unhappy return, in 1828, of the direful epidemic, so fatal to the interests and happiness of all.

A lapse of fourteen years since the last visitation, during which time no sanatory measures nor precautions had been left unpractised, gave confident hope that this disease had for ever disappeared. To the dismay of all, however, it became necessary, at the latter part of the summer of this year, reluctantly to announce its existence in the Garrison. The necessary measures were instantly adopted: the troops were encamped outside, as was a large portion of the population, chiefly of the lower classes; none being permitted to remain within who had not already passed the disease.

Nevertheless, the usual ravages ensued; and this affliction again hung over the devoted Rock, until the return of cold weather at the end of the year. The mortality was great, as well among the troops as the civilians, for the number of new subjects had increased with the increase of the population, foreign as well as native.

After the numerous discussions that had already taken place among medical men, regarding the nature of this disease and its appearance in Gibralt-

tar, it is not surprising that the most acrimonious disputations were again renewed. As well from Spain as from France scientific practitioners came, despatched to investigate its origin, character, and effects; at the same time that a Board of Inquiry was established by Government for a similar purpose.

In a case where well authenticated facts are few, and an ignorance of true causes is to be compensated by theoretical reasonings, it is not likely that much unanimity should prevail, or that any decisive knowledge should be obtained of the origin of such a malady. On the termination therefore of the investigation, the question of local origin or importation was left as doubtful as at its commencement; and to set at rest the disputations on this point, greater experience is yet requisite and a more dispassionate inquiry than has hitherto taken place.

The reader of Ayola will have observed that he records the appearance, in 1649, of a disease so strikingly similar in its character and effects as well to claim the most serious attention. Then, as now, separation and avoiding to pass the night on the Rock were the best remedies. A restoration of health immediately followed a removal to San Roque, and a pilgrimage to the shrine there was in those days the means of shewing devotional gratitude for the protection of the Holy Saint. The inhabitants of the Rock are now satisfied with

a residence, during the hot months, at that healthy spot, justly denominated the Montpellier of the district.

Two years subsequent to this unhappy occurrence, Government determined on removing the Lieutenant Governor, who during seventeen years, with a short interval, had so ably conducted the affairs of this important Fortress. To Sir George Don, who had identified himself with the Rock, and who hoped to die in command, this unexpected event produced much chagrin and undoubtedly hastened his death.

His remains were deposited in the new Protestant Church of the Holy Trinity; a suitable monument being erected, justly enumerating his services and his merits, and recording the termination of his career,

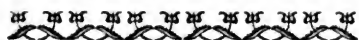
“ The 1st January, 1832.

“ Full of Years and Honours.

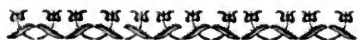
“ Aged 76.”

J. B.





APPENDIX.





Appendix.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CITY OF GIBRALTAR.*

No. I.

Privileges from their Majesties Don Fernando IV. and Don Alonso XI. to the City of Gibraltar.—From the Archives of H. E. the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

K NOW all ye to whom these presents shall come, that I Don Alonso, by the Grace of God King of Castille and Toledo, of Leon, Gallicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, and of Algarve; Lord of Biscay and of Molina,—have seen a letter from His Majesty Don Fernando, my Father (whom God pardon), written as follows:—Know all ye to whom this letter shall come, that We, Don Fernando, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, &c. (as precedes) to do good and grace to the City of Gibraltar, in order that it may become as rich and populous as possible, seeing that it is of great service to us—and in our great desire to benefit it, do grant to it and establish for it all the complete and entire boundaries it possessed in the days of those who dwelt there in the time of the Moors, from whom we last took it; with all its meadows, pastures, appurtenances, and

* By this is meant a district comprising twenty-nine leagues in circumference.

rights. Moreover, we free and acquit for ever all its inhabitants and those dwelling in the Town of Gibraltar at present, as well as those who may dwell there hereafter, from all tithes, toll, excise, cattle toll, watching, digging, and Castle service, and all other service, and from all duty on the goods they may buy or sell, whether brought or carried by sea or by land. Moreover, we order and direct that all those who shall proceed to Gibraltar, and shall be inhabitants or dwellers therein, whether swindlers, thieves, murderers, or other evil doers whatsoever, or woman escaped from her husband, or in any other manner, shall be freed and secured from the punishment of death; and that those who shall live and dwell in the town or its territory shall neither be threatened nor have injury done to them; not being traitors to their Lord, or breakers of the King's peace, or one who shall have carried off his Lord's wife; for these shall not be protected, but punished as they deserve. Moreover, of all the duty on prizes that may fall to the lot of Gibraltar or its territory, as well by land as by sea, one-fifth of what may belong to the Alcalde, and also to the Town Council, shall be for us; and if a Christian shall make captive a Moor, even in war, he shall belong to him, paying to us our due, unless taken within reach of a crossbow from the town, in which case only one-third of the produce of such Moor or Moors shall be taken, according to the custom of other Castle warriors in our kingdoms. Moreover, we order that all provisions brought to Gibraltar by Christians, Moors, or Jews, shall be free from all charge, and that no duty whatever shall be taken on what they sell, and that they may sell as they please. Moreover, that all malefactors, except traitors, as above-mentioned, that shall reside a year and a day in Gibraltar, whether inhabitant or not, shall be pardoned and freed from justice, excepting for crimes committed in

Gibraltar. And, seeing that it is for the good of our service, that the Town of Gibraltar should be well guarded, we order that 300 of the inhabitants, at least those of lookers-out and guards of the watch towers, shall have for their wages, if inhabitants and mountain archers, forty-five maravedies; if of the buttresses, forty maravedies; a foot guard, thirty-five maravedies, fifty maravedies; and if any one of these soldiers should die, leaving a son above two years old, he shall have the same salary as his father, and if a daughter, she shall inherit the goods of her father; and if any of the above named shall watch on the wall of Gibraltar, he shall have besides his salary ten maravedies each watch, to be well and truly paid without any deduction. Moreover, we freely grant that no taxes shall be paid either to us or any other person, neither money nor St. Martin's tax, nor other whatsoever, save the tax to our own person, and we ordain that they shall have and enjoy the *Furero* of Toledo, that justice shall be done with good uses and customs. Moreover, of every thing that shall pass in or out, and of all the goods used and possessed, that no duty shall be paid, except for the tithe to the Church. Moreover, every vessel that shall enter Gibraltar, whether in good weather or bad, not discharging such cargo as she may bring, shall pay such anchorage to the town as is paid by vessels at Seville, saving galleys or armed vessels that navigate in the service of God against the enemies of the Christian Faith. Moreover, that from my duties of the Tunny Fishery in the district of Gibraltar there shall be taken for services, or for what may be required by the City, 10,000 maravedies; and that there shall be sufficient common pasture for cattle for the inhabitants, and the remainder for the City. Moreover, that the City shall have one-third of the produce of our salt pans within the district; and I order that all these privileges and liberties I now grant shall

henceforth be observed ; and I strictly prohibit any one from daring to infringe them, nor evade, nor disregard them in manner whatsoever ; or, if otherwise acting, to be fined in the sum of 110,000 maravedies, of new money, paid to the City of Gibraltar, or double the amount of the injury suffered, as it may determine.

And that these Letters Patent may be observed, they are sealed with our leaden Seal, made in Xerez de la Frontera, the last day of February, 1348.

And the City and Council of Gibraltar having applied to me to confirm the said Letters Patent, I the above-named King Don Alonso, in order to do them service and favour, approve and confirm the same, order them to be valid, and to be observed as wholly and fully as they were in the time of the King, my father. And I command and direct that no one shall dare to contravene them in any manner, or otherwise they shall be merced in the above sum of 110,000 maravedies, and all the damages that may result therefrom. And to this end I give these my Letters, sealed with my Seal of Lead.

Given in Niebla, 6th December, 1377.

NO. II.

Document, and Letters Patent of the Sale of Villa Alba, and of Palma, made by the King, Don Alonzo the Eleventh, at the Royal Quarters, near Gibraltar, &c.—Archives of Medina Sidonia.

K NOW all ye to whom these Letters shall come, that we, Don Alonso, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, of Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbe, and of Alxecira, and Lord of the Earliship of Molina, on account of the scarcity in

which we now are, in this neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and in which we require a great quantity of provisions for our subsistence, trusting in the Grace of God, who will assist us : and although all the subjects of our kingdom have served us, and now serve us right well, most loyally giving to us their services, and their property, and personally serving us most dutifully ; and since they do all this as most loyal subjects, and the country near Gibraltar is so well provided with bread and meat and people, and in itself so fertile, and well cultivated, we are induced to remain and dwell in the said locality, until we think proper to discontinue our residence ; for, if otherwise, it will redound neither to our honour, nor to that of our kingdom, nor of those who are here quartered with us ; and besides, it would be very prejudicial and dangerous to our kingdom : and since we cannot effect this either by the payments that till now have been made us, or that we at present receive, or that are to revert to us, proceeding from our Rents, Taxes, (personal duty,) and rights,—we cannot avoid having recourse to our own property, and are forcibly obliged to sell some Villas and Castles, Villages and Hamlets ; and some of our neighbouring Kings would willingly have bought them, or would take from us in pledge some Castles and Villas, each in his own territories. But considering that it is of more service and protection to our Kingdom, and to our Lordship, to sell to the inhabitants of this our Kingdom, to our Vassals, and those under our Government than to the said Kings, or to any one of them, and since it cannot be avoided, we now thus communicate with them (our Vassals) and show them this Deed, and mention some of those who, to serve us, have assisted us with several sums of Maravedies, in order to aid us in this emergency ; and since it is but reason and justice to allow a recompense to those and to the Heirs of those

who perform a service for the benefits which they confer, and as *you*, Don Albar Perez de Guzman, our Subject, gave us 130,000 Maravedies, which we demanded from you, a sum which has been scrupulously paid us, we hereby sell to you, for the said 130,000 Maravedies, our Villages, Villa Alba and Palma, which are in the district of Niebla, together with the Lordship and Jurisdiction which we possess over them, &c.

Given at the Royal Quarters, near Gibraltar, the 10th January, in the Year of Our Lord 1388.

No. III.

Letters Patent of Privileges, granting, by King Henry IV. Algeciras and its Appurtenances to the City of Gibraltar.—Arch. de Medin. Sidon.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, Leon, &c. &c. to all Dukes, Counts, Marquesses, Priors, Commendatories, &c. &c.; to all Alcaldes, Regidores, &c. &c., and our good Citizens of Xerez la Frontera, and Varifa, and all my other Cities, Towns, and Lordships, and to each and every one of you by whom these my Letters Patent shall be seen, health and favour. And as you well know how, by the grace and assistance of God, the City of Gibraltar was taken from the Moors, enemies of our holy Catholic Faith, and is now belonging to me and my Royal Crown; and as the said City guards the Straits, so that there may not pass to the King or Kingdom of Granada assistance in men, horses, arms, nor provisions; and as the said City has but few inhabitants; and that to people it, I ought to bestow grace and favour on those who choose to go and dwell there, and remain continually with their wives and families, so that

they may be the more disposed to serve me, and defend and protect the said City, and guard the Straits; and I being informed that the boundary of the said City is small for the number of inhabitants who ought to dwell there, according to its extent; and as, for many good reasons, it is necessary to give an extended boundary to the inhabitants, that they may have pastures for their cattle, lands for the plough, for planting vines, and for other uses; it is therefore, by my favour, that the present dwellers therein, and those who may hereafter reside there, may pasture their cattle, plough, sow, plant vines, and make gardens in the district of Algeciras; and that no persons whatsoever belonging to other towns or places, as set forth in the beginning hereof, shall dare to cut wood in the district of the said City of Gibraltar, nor in those of the said Algeciras, except those who now live or hereafter may live in the said City of Gibraltar; notwithstanding whatsoever favours Don Johan, the King, my father, of glorious memory, did to the places, towns, and cities, or to any person or persons in any of them, not in the district of the said Cities of Gibraltar and Algeciras, nor any confirmation thereof that I may have made, nor any letter or letters given to those Cities, towns, or places, to enable them to pasture, plough, or sow; which I, of my own proper will and royal absolute power, which in this matter I choose to use, to the end of fulfilling my service, and for the peopling the said City, do abrogate, revoke, and annul in whatever does or may relate thereto: and if any of you, the Lower Cities or places as aforesaid, shall dare to contravene this order by pasturing cattle, ploughing, cutting wood, &c. &c. within the said district of Gibraltar, I order by these my Letters, and give full power to Pedro de Porras, my Alcalde of the Castle and Fortress of the City of Gibraltar, to take prisoners the persons so doing, with their

cattle, to be punished as is customary with those who pasture, &c. on the lands of others. And I order the said Pedro de Porras to defend and guard the said district; and if any thing shall be taken therefrom, to cause it to be restored to the City of Gibraltar, that its inhabitants may enjoy all that I order by these Letters.

And in order that he, Pedro de Porras, may be assisted in case of need, I order all good men and inhabitants of the said City, Alcaldes, Regidores, Alguazils, Officers, and all others of the subjects of my realms, that they give and afford him all aid and succour that may be necessary. And moreover, I order the person who shall exhibit these Letters, that he require to appear before me at my Court, wherever I may be, the Corporations by their sufficient attorneys, and officers of each city, town, or place offending, within fifteen days, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

Given in the town of Agreda, 15th of December, 1462.

I, the King.

NO. IV.

Certificate or Privilege of Gift of Gibraltar, granted by King Henry IV. in favour of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Enrique de Guzman.—From the Archives of that House.

DON Enrique, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, &c. &c. having regard to the great and important services that you, Don Enrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Conde de Niebla, my cousin, and member of my Council, and also your ancestors did or caused to be done to the Kings, my predecessors, of glorious memory; and also bearing in mind how Don Enrique de Guzman, my uncle, Conde de Niebla, your

grandfather, copying the fidelity and good intention of his ancestors and descendants of the Royal Race from which he sprang, went with all his knights and retainers, at his own expense, to besiege and attack the City of Gibraltar, then held by the Moors, to redeem it to the faith and service of our Lord, and to subject it to my Royal Crown; how that at the said Siege there fell a great number of knights and people of his house, and that he himself was buried in the Fortress of the said City. And the same desire being renewed in Don Juan de Guzman, your father, to conquer the said City, he finally got possession, and reduced it to our holy faith, and to obedience to me; that he peopled it, fortified it, and provided it with supplies, to serve in case of need. All which being taken into consideration, and following the form of the laws of my Kingdoms, which point out the manner how to remunerate those who perform such signal services done to the Kings and Princes, and to do grace and favour to you, the said Don Enrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina, I, with the counsel and advice of the Grantees and Prelates of my Kingdoms, do bestow on you the hereditary possession now and for ever of the said City of Gibraltar, with its Castle and Fortifications, its jurisdiction, and boundaries, and territories belonging to it, &c. &c. with all its rights, privileges, as they were given or granted by me, or by my order, &c. &c. all as they were recorded in my Books at the time the said Duke, my uncle, your father, recovered it from the Moors, for which you, the said Duke, paid annually to the Alcalde, the guards, and inhabitants of the said City, the amount of the maravedies and hire to be paid to every one of them as noted down in my said Books. But if, by the Grace of God, it should so happen that by overcoming the Moors these payments shall be no longer necessary, in such case the said maravedies shall remain

for me, and for the Kings that after me shall succeed to these Kingdoms ; all which of my own proper will and grace I do and order, that you may hold the said City on your hereditary right, with the power to give, change, alienate, and sell, &c. &c. but not to any person whatsoever of rank or religious order, nor any other out of my Kingdoms and Dominions, without my license and especial authority, reserving in all cases for myself, and the Kings that shall after me possess my said Dominions, the sovereign right of Seignior, which is mine, and belongs to me and to them, over all excise, Royal ecclesiastical tithes, moneys, and all gold and silver mines, and other mines whatsoever, which in the said City may now or shall be hereafter, and all other rights belonging to my Crown, and which cannot be separated from it. And by this, my decree, I order my Council, Alcalde, Officers, Knights, and other good men of the said City of Gibraltar, that from the day of the date hereof of this my decree, and thenceforward, you may have and hold, and receive for you, the said Duke, my cousin, during your life, and after you for your heirs and successors as Lords successively, the said City, and Castle, and Fortress, with all the precincts and boundaries, and other things thereunto belonging ; and moreover I order that the Alcalde of the said Fortress, on seeing this act of grace which I do to you, or a copy thereof, signed by a notary public, shall deliver to you forthwith the said City, Castle, and Fortress, with all its dependencies, &c. &c. freely and quietly, without any further consultation with or reference to me. And in case of any contravention of this order, you are authorized to enter and take possession by force of arms, if need be, and keep it against all resistance, without incurring any penalty whatsoever.

And by these letters I order my chief accountants, that in my Books they make entry for you, the said Duke,

and your successors, all the maravedies appointed for holding, guarding, watching, &c. &c. for salaries and other duties of the said City, &c. &c. that I ordered to be entered to the account of the said City, the Alcalde, and other persons therein.—And my gracious will is, and I hereby order that whatever revocations, especial or general, that I may have made, or hereafter shall make, of any favours or gifts, they shall not be understood to apply to, nor shall be extended to the grace or favour I now do in any manner whatsoever. For this is done as by contract for remuneration, and satisfaction, and payment of the aforesaid services and charges made by the said Duke, your father, by your ancestors and by you : and I desire that this, my favour, and all that is in these Letters contained, may have irrevocable force and vigour. To which end I order my High Chancellor, notaries, and others, my officers, who have custody of my seals, that they expedite these Letters Patent according to the true intent thereof, &c. &c. And moreover I order that the person who shall exhibit to you the same shall make to me return thereof within fifteen days, &c. &c.

Given in the most noble City of Cordova, the 3rd of June, 1469.

I, the King.

No. V.

Letters Patent, from the King, Don Enrique IV., in which he grants to the City of Gibraltar the Benefit of the Privileges enjoyed by Antequera. — Arch. of Med. Sidon.

DON Enrique, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, &c &c. and Lord of Biscay and Molina, to all ye Dukes, Marquises, Earls, rich men, &c. &c. health and grace. Know ye that I, acknowledging and considering

the great debt that Don Enrique de Guzman, my cousin, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Earl of Niebla, claims from me, and besides, the great, good, loyal, and signal services that I have received, and daily receive from him, and reflecting also that as the City of Gibraltar is the key and the port into all my dominions, (being bounded, as it is, by the African coasts and Kingdom of Granada) it tends much to my service, and to the defence and protection of my Kingdom, that it be well peopled and conditioned, and in order to confer a benefit and favour on the said Duke, it is my will and pleasure that all the natives and inhabitants that now dwell and inhabit, and may henceforward evermore live and dwell in the said City of Gibraltar, may have and enjoy the same privileges which the City of Antequera, its natives and inhabitants have and hold from the Kings, my ancestors of glorious memory, which privileges have been confirmed by me ; and that they may enjoy all the honours, benefits, favours, freedoms, liberties, exemptions, and prerogatives contained in the said privileges, and in each one of them ; for this, I am persuaded, tends to my service and to the welfare of my Kingdom ; and the said City, being as it is on the frontiers of Moorish States, in order that it may be better peopled, ennobled, and conditioned, as has been said, I order you all and each of you, that you keep and fulfil, and cause to be kept, for the said City of Gibraltar, its natives and inhabitants, the said privileges which the said City of Antequera holds from the aforesaid Kings, my predecessors, and by me confirmed, as also the said exemptions, liberties, and other things in them, and in each of them, named, declared, and specified ; moreover I CHARGE YOU that you neither overlook nor omit them, nor suffer that they be in any time or manner neglected.

Whereupon I order my Chancellor, notaries, and others, keepers of my seals, to give and remit to the said Duke,

my cousin, my Letter of Privileges duly sealed, and as valid and enforcing as is reasonably requisite, in order that there be preserved to Gibraltar, its natives and inhabitants, the same privileges, &c. &c. (as above).

And let none of you act contrary to my orders in any manner under penalty of being deprived of their offices, of forfeiting my favour, and of the confiscation of their property. And moreover I order the officer, who bears this Letter to you, to summon you to appear before me in my Court, wherever I may be, within fifteen days following the day of his summoning, in order that you may exhibit your reasons, if any, for not fulfilling my commands. And under pain of the aforesaid penalty I order every notary, who for such a purpose be called, to make no difficulty in giving his testimony, signed with his seal, that my commands are obeyed.

Given, in the very noble and loyal City of Sigovia, on the 20th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1470.

I, the King.

I, Juan Doviedo, Secretary of the King our Lord, have this written by his order.

NO. VI.

Los Términos de Gibraltar que segun la Sentencia dada en el Real de la Vega de Granada en 25º de Agosto, 1491, debian correr por estos Límites.

DESDE la Mezquitilla à dar en Guadiaro rio abaxo hasta la angostura, é de la angostura à la Alcaria de Ganados, quedando la Alcaria en lo de Ximena; e de allí al cerro alto que está encima de la vega de Juan de Costa; e de allí al cerro de la Atalaya del Burro, quedando otro mojon en el lomo que esta enmedio en lo

bajo; e de la *Atalaya del Burro* siguiendo el cerro adelante hasta una *Alcaria* despoblada de unos Acebuches; e de allí el cerro e lomo adelante hasta el cabo del cerro; e de allí à unas piedras que estan en la descendida del cerro ácia *Guadiaro*; e de allí atravesando el rio à un Portechuelo quedando *Xurina* á la mano izquierda; é de allí à una *Alcaria* despoblada de Acebuches muchos en derecho del dicho portechuelo; é de allí en canto la *breña*: à dar en una peña que està adelante de la *breña*; é de allí por en canto de un Lomo á dar á otra *Alcaria* despoblada de Acebuches; é allí á dar una vuelta que face el rio, e asi en derecho de la dicha *Alcaria* antes del *arroyo de las malas pasadas*, quedando las dos vegas grandes à la mano izquierda, la que se dice de las *Calabazas* i la otra; é de allí el rio abajo fasta la junta de los rios de *Hosgargant* e *Guadiaro*; é de allí al cerro de los *Hidiondos*; é de allí á otro cerro alto; é de allí á la *Alcaria* de *Tábanos*, quedando la dicha *Alcaria* por de Gibraltar; é de allí por el camino que va del Castellar à Marbella; e de allí por el lomo en la mano fasta la Torre *Chullera*, quedando la dicha Torre por de Gibraltar; lodo lo del dicho deslindamiento á la mano izquierda como empezo, quedando por de Gaozin e Casares, é lo de la mano derecha por de Ximena é Gibraltar.

No. VII.

Judicial Delivery of Gibraltar to Garcilaso de la Vega for Account of the Catholic Kings—and Inventory of the Effects in it belonging to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia.—Archives of this House.

IN the Castle and Fortress of the noble City of Gibraltar, on Sunday, on the second day of the month of January, in the year of the Birth of our Saviour Jesus

Christ, 1502, more or less at the time of the Vespers, there entered into the said Fortress, Señor Garcilaso de la Vega, who was coming and came to receive the said Fortress and this City for the King and Queen, our Lords; and who found in the said Fortress, as Alcalde of it and Corregidor of this said City, the Honourable Knight Diego Ramirez de Segura, who held it for the illustrious and most magnificent Lord, the Duke of the City of Medina Sidonia; and as soon as the said Señor Garcilaso entered into the said Fortress and alighted in it, the said Diego Ramirez, in presence of me, Michael de Andujar, Notary Public, and of the Council of the said City, gave and delivered to him the Keys of the said Fortress, and of the Public Granary in it, of the Tower *del Tuerto*, and of all the other Gates and Forts of this said City; and the said Señor Garcilaso received them in the name of their Highnesses, and as their Alcalde of the said City of Gibraltar. Witnesses who were present: John de Torres, Matthew Sanchez, and Peter de Villegas, inhabitants of this City, and also Francis de Gallegos.

And after this, on the Monday that followed the second day of the said year, the said Diego Ramirez, who was before Alcalde of the said City, gave and delivered to the said Señor Garcilaso, now the Alcalde of the said City, the Effects and Arms following, which were in the said City:—

In the Public Granary.

In the first place, there was in the Chapel of the Granary a large box of Larch wood, and inside, another smaller box, in which the bones of the Earl Don Enrique reposed—(may he enjoy eternal happiness!).

An altar in the said Chapel, and on it a gilt crucifix.

A small box of Larch wood, in which there was placed:

A cover (for the altar) made of striped silk of different colours.

A Priest's surtout robe of the same striped silk, with all its appendages.

Some fine linen covers for the altars, with silk edges.

A silver cross, with its stand.

Two silver candlesticks.

Two small phials, one of which has the lid broken off, which is rolled up in a piece of paper.

A silver chalice, with its patine (lid).

A silver pot, for holy water, with its sprinkler, the handle of which was silver.

An altar yet unfurnished.

A silver screw belonging to the above-mentioned pot for holy water.

Another water sprinkler, with its apparatus.

Arms in the said Granary.

Six pairs of breastplates, very old, and broken to pieces; one of them split in the middle.

Six wooden cross-bows, large, old, and without strings.

Six three new, and three old ones.

Two more pulleys, unfit for use.

Eight lances, and a pike.

Ten large cross-bows with pulleys, very old, rotten, and unfurnished.

A culverin, with its carriage, and a "servidor."

Four more "servidores," two middle-sized, and two small ones.

An old wooden turn, to arm cross-bows.

Another, old.

On the Platform.

A large wooden bench, strengthened with iron hoops, and on it, four culverins on their carriages.

A small cannon, on a carriage with wheels, on which it rolls.

In the Armoury.

Eighty-three steel cross-bows, with stands.

Fifty-three quivers.

Thirty-four muskets.

Three one not yet mounted.

A musketoon.

Eight pulley cross-bows, with five pulleys.

Four wooden cross-bows, without their apparatus.

Nineteen

Ten lances.

Nine great guns; another large gun, which stands in the Atarazana.

A mounted piece.

Another piece, which stands in the Tower of "Espolon."

Two culverins in the Tower "del Tuerto."

Six small cannons on their carriages.

Four very old guns, which are of no use.

Three furnished.

Eighteen large and small "servidores" of all the guns.

Three windlasses belonging to the guns.

Twelve more "servidores," which stand at Waterport.

Three more windlasses for working guns.

A large and complete screw-rammer, with which the cannons are cleaned out.

Four old muskets, without locks.

A barrel of Tunny fish, and half a barrel of saltpetre.

Two boxes containing lead, weighing six arrobas, or thereabouts.

Six old gun carriages, without

Three small barrels of gunpowder, which the Knight Commander kept in the Fortress, one full, the other half-full, and the third containing a small quantity.

Two barrels full of powder, which were given by the Count de Oroca, Captain of the Portuguese Armada, and which weighed eighty-six arrobas and six pounds, out of which are taken six arrobas and six pounds, from the barrels, together with some matches; and all this without tare, for so it is to be paid.

Two old muskets, without stands.

And all these said fortresses, and gates, and forts of this said City, together with all the arms, artillery, and powder, did the said Señor Garcilaso receive on behalf of their HH. from the said Alcalde Diego Ramirez de Segura, who held them, and who gave them all up readily and punctually, as ordered by their HH.; and the said Diego Ramirez asked for the Testimony of me the said Notary, to the manner in which this business was conducted, and how the said Señor Garcilaso took possession, and declared himself satisfied; and I gave him this Deed, according to what happened in my presence and in that of the Witnesses below mentioned, and which took place and occurred in the said City of Gibraltar on the aforesaid day, month, and year. Witnesses who were present: Juan Carro de Amaya, Francisco de Gallegos, and Diego Lopez de Faro, Alcalde of Xerez, for the said Señor Garcilaso.

And I, Miguel de Andujar, Notary Public of the noble City of Gibraltar, having caused this to be written, have hereunto affixed my signet, and am Witness hereof.

No. VIII.

Letter from the most Serene Queen Lady Jane, in which she confers on Gibraltar the Title of Most Loyal.—In Portillo.

TO ye, the Council, the Magistrates, Prefects, Knights, Officers, and good men of the noble, and most Loyal City of Gibraltar. I have seen your letter, and what you say about the blockade, which the Duke of Medina Sidonia has established round your City, and concerning the serious evils and injuries which were, and have been, caused to all of you by the Captains, and military retainers of the said Duke; and regarding the great zeal that you have had, and that you have shewn for my service, and the vigilance you have used, and now use in the defence of that City—you have shewn well, and now show your great loyalty and fidelity, in keeping and defending that City for my Royal Crown. And in order, on the other hand, that you may do what is your duty, I expect that you will cause signal thanks to be returned for this service to all in general, and to each in particular, in order that a lasting recollection may remain of you to your descendants; and I assure and promise you by my Faith, and my Royal Word that I will order remuneration to be made to you for all the injuries that you have received and may receive in your present situation; and as regards the Blockade, I have ordered provision to be made for your prompt succour, and I believe it will be already raised. In the meantime, I order and charge you, to work continually, and to be vigilant for the keeping and defence of that City for my Royal Crown, since it is one of my principal titles; and for this purpose to act

in conformity with my *Alcalde* of the Forts and Castle of the said City, and with the Corregidor and his Assistant, in doing which, you will perform to me a signal service.

Given in of November, in the year 1506.

No. IX.

Letter from the Emperor Charles Vth to the City of Gibraltar, thanking it for its Tranquillity and Loyalty during the time of the Public Commotions.—Portillo.

THE KING,

TO the Council, Magistrates, Regidores, Knights, Officers, and good men of the City of Gibraltar. I send Garcia Alvarez Osoria, Knight Commander, of the order of Cañaveral, and Gentleman of my Household, to your place, to fulfil certain things appertaining to the service of the Catholic Queen, my Lady, and to my own; whom I have ordered to set out for your City, and to give you thanks, and to acknowledge, as good services, your fidelity and loyalty in having remained as you have, in tranquillity, peace, and obedience to our Authorities, during our absence from our Kingdom; and likewise to inform you of my determination to set out shortly for it, and other things which you will know from him. I order and charge you to listen to him, and to give him entire faith and credit; and preserving your fidelity, to carry his orders into effect, and live as hitherto you have lived, in peace, tranquillity, and obedience to our Authorities; being well assured, that I am much inclined to confer benefits on your City, and especially on the Natives, as your loyal services deserve.

From Wormes—5th March, 1521.

The King.

By order of H. M.—FRANCISCO DE LOS COBOS.

No. X.

Letter from Philip II. to the City of Gibraltar.—Portillo.

THE KING,

To the Council, Magistrates, Regidores, Knights, Officers,
and good men of the City of Gibraltar.

FROM the Duke of Arcos, and from the Captain, Inigo de Arroyo Santi e Stevan, my Corregidor of that said City, have we learnt with what good courage all of ye inhabitants of it were expecting the English Fleet, and with what care you have provided the things necessary for your defence, by which we have received an agreeable service; and be careful that ye be ready against any thing that may there happen, while here we are preparing the necessary supplies to advance to your succour, and defend you from the enemy if they should come.

From Madrid, 12th of September, 1596.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord.—JUAN DELGADO.

No. XI.

Letter from the Archduke Charles of Austria, to the City of Gibraltar.—Documents of San Roque.

THE KING,

TO my City of Gibraltar:—Being fully informed of the zeal with which you have always distinguished yourselves in the service of my most august House, and

doubting not that you will persevere in it, I have thought proper to inform you, that Admiral Rook, Commander of the Maritime forces of his Britannic Majesty, about to proceed to the Mediterranean on various Expeditions on my Royal service, will reach that Port and will deliver you this my Royal Letter; he will inform you that I shall shortly set out for the frontiers of this Kingdom, and enter into my own, in order to take possession of that which by such just and lawful right belongs to me, since the death of the King, Don Carlos II. my Lord and Uncle, (may he enjoy eternal happiness!) and I confiding greatly on the fidelity which you have always manifested to my most august House, desire you will on view of this my Royal Letter, proceed to proclaim me, and cause all the surrounding towns which are under your jurisdiction to do so likewise, by the name by which all my Dominions in Europe acknowledge me, as true and lawful King of Spain, and in which the Emperor, my Lord and Father, proclaimed me in his Imperial Court, namely, Charles III. and I assure you, and here pledge my Royal Word, that if you perform these things, your exemptions, immunities, and privileges will be preserved to you in the same form as the deceased King Don Carlos II. my Lord and Uncle, allowed and kept them; treating you and all my beloved Spaniards with the love and good will, you have always received from the clemency and kindness of the Kings, my predecessors. But if you determine on the contrary, which I cannot believe will happen among subjects so faithful to their lawful King, and acknowledged Lord; it will be necessary for my powerful Allies to use all the severities which war brings with it; although to my intense grief; that those whom I love as children, should suffer as if they were the greatest enemies, merely because, so they wish it. The said

Admiral Rook has orders, that when he touches at that Port on his return, he shall, if you require and ask for it, assist you with as many men as he can spare.

I, the King.

Given at Lisbon, on the 5th May, 1704.

By order of the King my Lord.—ENRIQUE DE BON GEI.

No. XII.

At the Council held in Gibraltar, in order to resolve on the Surrender of the City, by Capitulation, to the Generals of the Combined Powers.—Documents of Sn. Roque.

IN the City of Gibraltar, on the 4th of August, 1704, there met in the Town Council his Lordship, the Major-General, Don Diego de Salinas, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Civil and Military Governor of this City; the Señor Licentiate, Don Cayo Antonio, Prieto Laso de la Vega, Advocate in the Royal Council, and Alcalde Mayor of the said City, together with the following gentlemen: Don Juan de Mesa, &c. &c. Regidores of it: and being thus assembled, his Lordship communicated to them that, in conformity with the resolution taken on the 3rd of this month, he had held a meeting and council of war with the Field Adjutants, the Brigadier, and other officers of this fortress, concerning the state in which it then was, and the resolution to be taken, as to the surrender of it; and having at the said meeting considered all the circumstances, which according to the state in which the City was, and according to military and political rules, which tend to the greatest service of his Majesty, (whom God preserve) he resolved, with the opinion of each of the said Adjutants, that, since

defence was impossible, it be given up, in order not to fail in obtaining the honourable capitulation which this City through its loyalty deserves, together with the advantages which correspond to the besieged, they being loyal subjects of their King and Lord, Don Philip V. Which state of things his Lordship communicated to the City, in order that on knowledge thereof it might determine accordingly. The City having heard, and understood the proposal of his Lordship, and the resolution of the Council of War, in which the members agreed unanimously to surrender, for the motives that he has expressed, (and truly the City is exceedingly grieved not to be able to prevent it, and to maintain the defence of the town with the loyalty which it has ever been its custom to evince for its King and lawful owner, against the superior and exorbitant power of the enemy, whom its scanty means, as is well known, cannot resist, these being entirely exhausted) it appeared to it, for the said reasons, that it would be more acceptable to his Majesty to surrender, being thus distressed, (obtaining an honourable and decent capitulation, which is due to its loyalty, and to that of its inhabitants) than to persevere in a rash resistance, which could only occasion the loss of such devoted subjects; it agrees, therefore, to effect the said surrender, preceded by the annexed Capitulation, which is offered to it, and any other conditions which may be obtained for greater honour and advantage. To this, and in order to inform his Majesty of what has taken place, this City beseeches your Lordship, as a continuation of the favours which it has always received from your hands, to carry it into effect, your Lordship agreeing with us in what concerns you. And with this was the said Town Council dissolved. Their Lordships signed it, the said Alcalde Mayor, and aforesaid Chiefs, in the presence of Francisco Martinez de Portela, Notary.

No. XIII.

*Capitulation, at the Surrender of Gibraltar.—Documents
at San Roque.*

ARTICLE I.

THE Garrison, officers, and soldiers will be allowed to march out with their arms and their necessary baggage; and the said soldiers with what they can carry on their shoulders; and the officers, Regidores, and other gentlemen who have horses, may go out on them: moreover the necessary boats will be given to those who have baggage to take with them.

2. They may take out of the Fortress three brass cannons of different calibers, with twelve corresponding rounds of powder and ball.

3. They may provide supplies of bread, meat, and wine, for six days' march.

4. The trunks and chests, conveying the baggage and clothes belonging to the Regidores, officers, and other gentlemen, shall not be examined; the Garrison is to march out within three days; the baggage which cannot be taken away immediately shall remain in the Fortress, and may be sent for as opportunity offers; and no opposition will be offered to the taking it away in carts.

5. To the City and its inhabitants, to the soldiers and officers who may wish to remain in it, the same privileges are allowed which they had in the time of Charles II. Religion, and all the tribunals will remain intact and without disturbance, on condition that the oath of fidelity be taken to the majesty of Charles III. their lawful King and Lord.

6. All the powder magazines and other ammunitions

must be exhibited and shown, as also the provisions that may be in the City, and the arms that are left behind.

From this Capitulation are excluded all Frenchmen, and subjects of the most Christian King; all their property shall be at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

GEORGE, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

NO. XIV.

Letter from the City to King Philip V.—Documents at San Roque.

SIRE,

THE Loyalty with which this City has served all the preceding Kings, as well as your Majesty, has ever been notorious to them. In this last event, not less than on other occasions, it has endeavoured to exhibit its fidelity at the price of lives and property, which many of the inhabitants have lost in the combat, and with great honour and pleasure did they sacrifice themselves in defence of your Majesty, who may rest well assured that we who have survived, (for our misfortune) had we experienced a similar fate, would have died with glory, and would not now suffer the great grief and distress of seeing your Majesty, our Lord and master, dispossessed of so loyal a City. Subjects, but courageous as such, we will submit to no other government than that of your Catholic Majesty, in whose defence and service we shall pass the remainder of our lives, departing from this Fortress, where, on account of the superior power of the enemy who attacked it, and the fatal chance of our not having any Garrison for its defence, except a few poor and raw peasants, amounting to less than 300, we have not been able to resist the assault, as your Majesty must

have already learnt from the Governor and others. Our just grief allows us to notice no other fact for the information of your Majesty, but that all the inhabitants, and each singly, fulfilled their duties in their different stations; and our Governor and Alcalde Mayor have worked with the greatest zeal and activity, without allowing the horrors of the incessant cannonading to deter them from their duties, to which they attended personally, encouraging all with great devotion. We all hope that your Majesty, through your great mercy, will keep us in mind for our consolation and relief. May Divine Providence guard the royal person of your Majesty, so as to fulfil the desires of all Christianity.

Gibraltar, 5th of August, 1704.

No. XV.

Article X. of the Treaty of Utrecht, in which the City and Castle of Gibraltar are ceded to Great Britain, with certain Conditions.—Treaty of Utrecht. Published in Madrid in 1713.

THE Catholic King, as regards himself and all his successors, yields by this treaty to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire proprietorship of the City and Castle of Gibraltar, together with its Port, and the defences and Forts appertaining to it, giving the said property to her Majesty, that she may keep it and enjoy it absolutely, with a full right to it for ever, without exception or impediment; but in order to avoid the abuses and frauds which might take place, by the introduction of merchandize, the Catholic King wishes, and takes for granted that it is clearly understood, that the said possession is yielded to Great Britain without any territorial jurisdiction, and without any open communication with

the surrounding region on the land side. But as the communication with the Coast of Spain cannot be at all times open and safe, whence it may result that the soldiers of the Garrison of Gibraltar, as well as the inhabitants, may be reduced to great straits, and it being the intention of the Catholic King solely to prevent the fraudulent introduction of merchandize by land, it has been agreed that in such cases provisions and other necessities may be purchased for ready money in the neighbouring country in Spain, for the use of the troops in Garrison, and the inhabitants, as well as for the shipping, that might be in the Bay; but if any merchandize be detected in the act of introduction from Gibraltar, either in an exchange of provisions, or in any other way, it will be adjudged to the Exchequer, and instituting a complaint of this infringement of the treaty, the guilty parties will be severely punished.

Moreover, H. B. Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, consents and agrees that no Jews, or Moors, be on any consideration allowed to inhabit, or dwell in the said City of Gibraltar, and that no entrance or reception be allowed to Moorish men of war, in the Port of that City, by which the communication of Spain with Ceuta might be hindered, or the coasts of Spain infested; but as there exist treaties of Alliance, Liberty, and intercourse of Commerce, between English subjects, and some regions on the coast of Africa, it is to be well understood, that admittance into the Port of Gibraltar cannot be refused to the Moors and their vessels, when they come solely to trade. H. M. the Queen of Great Britain likewise promises, that the inhabitants of the said City of Gibraltar, will be allowed the free use of the Roman Catholic Religion. If at any time it should appear convenient to the Crown of Great Britain to give, sell, or transfer the said City of Gibraltar, it is agreed, and settled

by this Treaty, that the first offer will be made to the King of Spain, in preference to any other, in order that he may thus recover it.

No. XVI.

Letter from King George I. of England, to King Philip V. offering the Restitution of Gibraltar.—Comparison of the Conduct of the British King, with that of King Philip, published in 1739.

SIR, MY BROTHER,

I HAVE learnt with extreme satisfaction, by means of my Ambassador at your Court, that your Majesty has, at length, resolved to remove the obstacles which have for some time retarded the entire accomplishment of our Union. And since, by the confidence which your Majesty reposes in me, I can consider as reestablished the Treaties which have been the subject of our differences, and consequently, that the Documents necessary for the free commerce of my subjects will have been already prepared by you; I do not delay in assuring your Majesty of my readiness to satisfy you, as regards the restitution of Gibraltar, promising you that I will avail myself of the first favourable opportunity of settling this point, with the intervention of my Parliament, &c.

No. XVII.

Article II. of the Treaty of Alliance, between the Catholic King, and the Emperor Charles VI. concluded in Vienna, 30th April, 1725.—Carels-croon. corps. diplom. t. 8. part 2. p. 113.

WHEREAS, a communication has been made by the Minister of the most Serene King of Spain, that the restitution of Gibraltar with its Port, has been

promised by the King of Great Britain, and as the King of Spain insists that Gibraltar with its Port, and the Island of Minorca, with its Port Mahon, be restored to his Royal Catholic Majesty, it is hereby declared on the part of his Imperial Majesty, that if this restitution takes place amicably, he will not oppose it, and if the two parties desire it, he will interpose his mediatory good offices if they appear useful.

No. XVIII.

Letter from Colonel Gaspar Claiton, Governor of Gibraltar, to the Count Las Torres.—Beland. Hist. civ. de España.

SIR,

HAVING observed this morning, that your Excellency has opened a trench, in order to attack this Fortress, which act I hold to be contrary to the Treaties existing between our Sovereigns, no declaration of Hostilities yet having reached my knowledge, I therefore inform your Excellency, that if you do not forthwith order the works to cease, I shall be obliged to take necessary measures in consequence. I transmit this to your Excellency by my Secretary, to whom I intreat an answer may be delivered.

Gibraltar, 22nd February, 1727.

(Signed) GASPAR CLAITON.

No. XIX.

Answer from the Count Las Torres.—Same Author.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your Excellency's letter of to-day's date, and regarding the Trench which has been opened, as you say, to attack the City of Gibraltar, I hereby answer,

that what has been hitherto done has been on our own ground, to fortify those places where our Batteries might be of service; and as there belongs nothing to that Fortress beyond its fortifications, as appears by the very Treaties your Excellency alludes to; and your Excellency having taken possession of the Towers within our jurisdiction; your Excellency may be fully assured, that unless they are immediately abandoned, *I* will act in the manner your Excellency insinuates to *me*; acquainting you at the same time, that for besieging that Fortress, works less distant will be constructed, as you will learn in due time.

Campo de Gibraltar, 22nd February, 1727.

(Signed) COUNT LAS TORRES.

No. XX.

Remonstrance of the Court of Spain, on the Infractions by the English of the Treaty for the Cession of Gibraltar.—Comparison of the Conduct of King Philip V. with that of the British King, &c. published in 1739.

“ **T**HE same takes place with the Xth Article of the
“ said Treaty of Utrecht; for, although England
“ bound herself by it, not to give admittance or reception
“ in Gibraltar to Moorish vessels of war, yet, not only has
“ the contrary occurred, to the great detriment of his Majesty and his subjects, but even when they have been
“ chased by the Spaniards, they have found safety, and
“ shelter, under the guns of the Fortress, in order from
“ thence to set out immediately, and with facility, to insult
“ our coasts, and interrupt our commerce. In the same
“ manner, there has been an infringement of this Article,
“ as to the intended and even established boundaries of

“ territory pointed out by it ; for although this Fortress was
 “ given up without any territorial jurisdiction, and with-
 “ out any open communication with the surrounding
 “ country on the land side, the English require that the
 “ distance of a cannon shot should be comprehended ;
 “ and although it was agreed, mutually, in the year 1728,
 “ to abandon the Posts on which the dispute was grounded
 “ (which were, one in front of the Genoese Tower, another
 “ near the Rock, under the Pastelillo, and another on the
 “ East, little distant from the Rock, and near the Devil’s
 “ Tower) : yet they have since occupied them without any
 “ regard to the Treaty, or consideration for the offence
 “ offered. And this is not the only instance of faithless
 “ proceedings, which have occurred regarding this fortress ;
 “ for the late King of England, George I. having in his
 “ letter of 1st June, 1721, offered his Majesty the restitu-
 “ tion of it, as the conditional means of concluding the
 “ Treaty then pending (which was signed at Madrid, on
 “ the 13th day of that month,) yet, it neither took place as
 “ was just, nor were our urgent demands or remonstrances
 “ of the least avail regarding it.”

No. XXI.

Article VIII. of the Protest of the Twenty-three English Peers against the Treaty of Seville.—Pieces Justifica. en Montgon. tom. vii., No. 34.

WE protest in the eighth place. Because, we fear, that there is in this Treaty an artful omission of the clear and express stipulation which confirms our rights to Gibraltar and Mahon. Although we would very willingly attribute this omission rather to the artifice of the Spanish Minister, than to any want of zeal for the

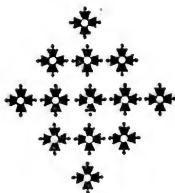
country on the part of ours; yet it is an error which subjects the possession of these important places to many future tergiversations; and we believe the Spaniards cannot have alleged any plausible reason for refusing to confirm our incontestible right to these places, with terms as strong and express as those we have made use of, in order to declare ourselves guarantees of the right and of the possession of the Dominions assigned to Don Carlos and his successors; for we have so far condescended, as to consent in precise terms that the Spaniards should make their claims for the restitution of the vessels taken in 1718, although their right on this point was as efficaciously otherwise assured, as it is pretended is ours regarding Gibraltar and Minorca, by the general terms which renew and confirm preceding Treaties.

No. XXII.

Epitaph on the most Excellent, and most Eminent Señor Don Diego de Astorga and Cespedes. Native of Gibraltar, Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, &c.—On his Tomb, in his Chapel at Toledo.

DIDACUS de Astorga & Cespedes,
 Sanctæ Romanæ, Ecclesiæ Cardinalis,
 Primo Barchinonen.
 Dein Toletanus Præsul.
 Hisp. Primas.
 Primus Excellentie Titulo.
 In Successores Perpetuo Protrahendo
 Insignitus
 General. Inquisit.
 Et Ludovico I.
 A Consiliis Secretioribus

Quem ardens Zelus
Cum pio in Pauperes
Et dulci Genio in omnes conjungens
Omnibus Charum
Marmoribusq. sacrae Sinaxi
Ab ipso erectis
Perenniorem facient.
Plenus Dierum.
Ultimum obiit diem IX. Februari:
Anno Domini MDCCXXXIV.



C. Whittingham, Tookes Court, Chancery Lane.

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